

M E M O I R S
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N
A N D
I R E L A N D.

FROM THE
Dissolution of the last Parliament of CHARLES II. until
the Sea-battle off LA HOGUE.

By SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE, BART.

Pulchrum est benefacere reipublicæ, etiam benedicere haud absurdum. SALLUST.

Simul veritas pluribus modis infracta; primum inscitia reipublicæ ut alienæ, mox libidine assentandi, aut rursus odio adversus dominantes. Ita neutris cura posteritatis, inter infensos vel obnoxios. Sed ambitionem scriptoris facile adferis: Obtestatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur.—Sed incorruptam fidem professis, nec amore quisquam, et sine odio dicendus est.—Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet. TACIT.

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MDCCLXXI.



M. E. M. O. I. R. 2
OF
THE
C. R. E. A. T. I. O. N.
A. R. I. V. I. N. G.
T. H. R. O. U. G. H. F. I. L. I. N. G.

THE
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C. O. N. G. R. E. S. S.
H. E. L. D. I. N. N. O. T. T.

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TO THE MEMORY OF
C H A R L E S Y O R K,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

THESE MEMOIRS of a Country so dear to him while he lived, and of a Period when that Liberty was established, which it was the chief Object of his Conduct to support, are dedicated by one, whose Sense of his Friendship and Virtues will cease only with Life; and who, alas! once little thought, that this Testimony of Veneration would be all the Tribute of Gratitude left in his Power to render to the most exalted of Minds and the kindest of Hearts.

PREFACE
TO THE MEMORY OF
CHARLES YORKE
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND

THESE MEMOIRS of a Country to dear to him while
he lived, and of a Period when that Liberty was
established, which it was the duty of his Country
to support, are dedicated by one, whose sense of the
relationship and Virtues will cause only with less
and not more than those thoughts, that the
Fountain which is the source of the British
Constitution is the well-spring of Liberty and the
Fountain of the British Empire.

P R E F A C E.

THE following Memoirs were undertaken by the advice of the Person to whose memory they are inscribed. He used to call himself a fugitive from the muses: And indeed, amidst his vast variety of business, he still sacrificed to them in secret. He advised me also not to trust to printed books for materials, but to get access to original papers. I followed advices which to me had the authority of commands, because they were always kind, and always just; and I procured materials in England, Scotland, and France, far superior to what any single person has hitherto been able to obtain.

I AM nevertheless conscious that they are not equal to the dignity of the subject. There are some family-memoirs in London of great authority, which I wished much to have seen; but it required a train of solicitation to get access to them, to which no man of common pride could submit.

NOTWITHSTANDING the advantages I have had, I found myself under great difficulties in giving a review of the reign of Charles II. because that Prince made mere tools of his ministers, and even of his brother. The best key to the secrets of his reign lies in the dispatches of Barillon the French ambassador, which are in the *Depot des Affaires Etrangeres* at Versailles. Mr. Stanley gave me a letter of introduction to the Duc de Choisseul, in expressions which did honour to him who wrote it. Lord Harcourt and Mr. Walpole, considering the cause of letters to be the cause of England, seconded my request. The Duc de Choisseul, with that liberality of sentiment which distinguishes almost every Frenchman of high rank, gave directions that I should have copies of the papers I wanted. But Monsr. Durand, in whose custody they were, having been, last summer, sent minister to Vienna, I have not yet received the papers; and, in the mean time, as I have been very careless in giving away copies of the memoirs to which that review is now prefixed, some of these have

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been lost. It is usual for men to urge the fear of their works being pirated, as an affected excuse for their publishing at all: But, in my case, it is really a just one for publishing before this review was as complete as I wished to have made it.

I HAVE generally quoted the papers, of which I have either the originals or the copies in my possession; others, although of the highest authority of all, I have not quoted, because I have no extracts. Since the first edition of the Memoirs was published in Scotland, I have fortunately fallen upon a collection of papers in London, which vouch almost all the new facts that are to be found in them. The papers I mean are those of the late Mr. Carte, now in the possession of Mr. Jernegan, who married his widow. They consist of very full notes, extracted from the memoirs of James the Second, now in the Scots College at Paris, written by that Prince's own hand, and of many original state-papers, and copies of others of the court of St. Germain. The extracts from the memoirs are in Mr. Carte's hand-writing, and he had an order for all these different papers from the Stuart family. I could have easily made a second volume of the papers in my hands; but am not fond of taxing the public for what only the curious in the history of their country care to read. However, if the public express any desire to see them, they shall still be published; and, if I receive Barillon's dispatches soon enough, they shall be printed with the rest.

EVERY man who keeps good company, and does not combat every one he meets about his political principles, must hear many circumstances from men of different parties, which are not to be found in printed books, relative to a period so late and so interesting as that of which I have endeavoured to give an account; and these anecdotes are often better founded than facts which have been published. For a lie may live for a day, or a year; but it will hardly pass from father to son for near a century. In the course of my inquiries, I have often found a current report, of which no one can tell the origin, authenticated by a number of original papers. Some circumstances, therefore, which are in the mouths of all, although in no one's library, I have introduced into these Memoirs; where I did so, I have often expressed it; where I have not, it

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has arisen from an inattention which, perhaps, may be excused in one who writes only when he cannot better employ or amuse himself.

IN order to give variety to the narration, and to avoid making reflexions myself, I have often thrown what people thought, into what they said. This, though warranted by the example of almost all the ancient historians, and the greatest of the moderns, may, in this age, give an appearance of infidelity to the narrative. But I flatter myself a reader of taste will easily perceive a distinction. When the words are contained in a sentence or two, they are those which were actually spoken: When they run into length, the writer is in part answerable for them.

I HAVE been told, that I shall draw enmities upon myself from the descendants of some great families, whose actions I have represented in colours belied by the principles and actions of their posterity; and that it was not to be expected, that a man of a whig family should have been the first to expose to the public the intrigues of the whig-party at St. Germain.

I AM sensible, that here I tread upon tender ground. Every man who treats of party-matters in Britain, must expect to make enemies on the one side or the other. And I truly believe I shall make enemies on both sides. But this is a price which we must all pay for our liberty; and God grant that it may long continue so. Yet, perhaps, I may find quarter from those who consider that I treat of my own ancestors, surely not the most inconsiderable in the united kingdom, as well as of theirs whom I may be supposed to offend; that I have an equal reverence for mine, as they can have for theirs; but that I have a much greater reverence for truth than for either. The first person who told me that there was evidence existing of the whig-intrigues with St. Germain immediately after the revolution, was Mr. Hume. After I had satisfied myself that his information was just, I told the great person by whose advice I undertook these Memoirs, that I had seen too much, and that I was afraid I must quit the subject. But his ideas of the regard which an historian owes to what he believes to be truth, shewed me the meanness of my own fears.

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SOME persons have complained to me, that, in the second part of this work, I speak too favourably of King James; I gave them this answer, That, though I would draw my sword against his family, I would not do injustice to any of their characters; and that I lived under a Prince who will not think the worse of his subjects for avowing such sentiments.

I WAS obliged for some new views of my subject to that store of original genius which animates the conversation of Lord Elibank. Mr. Hume corrected some erroneous views I had taken; appearing more anxious about my literary reputation than I am myself. I would return my thanks to several other of my friends for their corrections of the stile, were I not afraid to make them answerable for the faults that have escaped them. Yet Lord Littelton, Dr. Smith, and Dr. Blair of Edinburgh, will pardon my mentioning their names, because they called my attention to that picturesque simplicity and choice of circumstances, which distinguish the historical compositions of the ancients; beauties, which, if I have not been able to imitate, I am sure I feel.

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R E V I E W
OF THE
POLITICAL STATE OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE
COMMENCEMENT OF THE MONARCHY,
UNTIL THE RESTORATION.

THE history of England is the history of liberty, and of the influence which the spirit of it, kept alive during a long revolution of ages, has had upon the constitution, the religion, the wealth, the power, and, above all, upon the dignity of the national character of the English.

THE Saxons imported into England an independence derived to them from their ancestors beyond all history or tradition; and, although they seated themselves amidst the effeminacy of a Roman province, transmitted the manly virtues they had imbibed in their forests, to a posterity who valued the gift more than the inheritance with which it was accompanied. Alfred, the greatest of all the Saxon Kings *, declared in his will, " That it was just the English " should remain for ever as free as their own thoughts." And the best clauses of the great charter, for which so many of the Normans struggled in parliament, and died in the field †, were no more than

Freedom of
Saxons.

* Affer. p. 24.

† Lord Littelton, vol. 1. with the authorities he refers to.

a transcript of the laws of a Saxon Prince, and a Saxon great council.

Power of the crown upon the conquest.

UPON the Norman invasion the subjects of William lost not their freedom even in conquest; an event which, in most nations, has been as fatal to the liberties of the conquerors, as of the conquered. That Prince and his immediate successor governed indeed by the sword, because they had a conquest to maintain; and they often trampled both upon the Saxons and the Normans; because these nations, standing on terms of mutual suspicion and hatred, were more afraid of each other than of the sovereign. Yet separately the Saxons and Normans endeavoured to pull down the power of those Princes by insurrections, the unprosperous events of which only shewed the weakness of those who opposed, not their resignation to the will of a master: And united, they procured declarations of their joint liberties in parliament, from that monarch who had conquered the kingdom*.

BUT, after the reigns of the two first Norman Princes, the Saxons and Normans, respecting their common origin and common rights, united their interests, and made the great charter † an original condition of the settlement of the crown upon Henry I. an instrument of liberty which, by means of parliaments, established the political, and of juries, the civil rights of the citizens; and which, by subjecting to the laws, and to the laws only, their property, their persons, and their honour, conferred badges of distinction upon Englishmen, unknown to the citizens of Rome and of Sparta.

Declension of the power of the crown soon after.

THE struggles of their posterity to get this charter renewed, which, although confirmed above thirty times by different Princes, was seldom renewed without compulsion, and their attempts to extend it kept the flame of liberty alive. But the subject, jealous and bold, laid hold of almost every advantage which accident presented, to

* Lord Littelton, vol. 1. with the authorities he refers to.

† Ibid.

depress that sovereign power which the great charter was only meant to controul.

IN the breaches of royal successions, ramparts were formed for the defence of the people: The concessions which had been gained from the crown, during the reign of Henry the First, who had a disputed succession to maintain, were extended in those of Steven, of John, of Henry IV. and of Richard III. who were in similar situations. How effectuated.

ADVANTAGES were in the same way taken of domestic dissensions in royal families, particularly of those which took place between Henry I. and his brother the Duke of Normandy, and between Edward II. and his family. But the designs of Prince John against Richard I. were not abetted; because the nation pitied and respected the misfortunes of a hero, who had carried the glories of the English name over most of the known globe.

ONLY four minorities of Princes have happened in the English government, in the course of seven centuries; for that of Edward V. was so short, as not to deserve being brought into the account. Yet the opportunities were seized upon the accessions of Henry III. Richard II. Henry VI. and Edward VI. with all the readiness of parties, which had been accustomed to a minority upon the change of every successor.

THE ambition of great Princes is generally exerted at the expence of the freedom of those whom they govern. But the English, by indulging the ambition of Henry I. and II. of Edward I. and III. and of Henry V. against the liberties of other nations, derived security to their own liberties. Parliaments seldom spared the treasures of the people, and the people never their blood, when they knew that the price paid for both by the necessities of the Sovereign, was the continuation of the privileges of their countrymen.

THE subject was satisfied to find occasions, whether in the weaknesses or in the crimes of human nature, to restrain the power of the

crown, even by degrading the person of him who wore it. Edward II. and Richard II. were formally deposed by parliament. The same assembly refused to permit Richard Duke of York to sit down upon the throne, although he came with this intention into their house, but appointed him regent over his own and their Sovereign. Parliamentary commissioners were imposed upon John, Henry III. Edward II. and Richard II. In the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, parliaments acknowledged the titles of the rival princes alternately, according as victory declared for the one or the other; pleased in the successive changes of royal families to gain successive advantages for the people. Monarchy itself was trod down in the person of Charles I.

BUT, when the sceptre was swayed by able, daring, and fortunate Princes, parliaments had recourse to regular and constitutional defences, adhering to the laws, and tempering liberty with loyalty. By such conduct, the haughty Edward I. was obliged, after every art of subterfuge, to confirm the great charter. In the reign of his martial grandson, the law of high treason, the most important of all laws in a constitution which admits, that, in some cases, the subject has a right of resistance, was defined and circumscribed with a precision unknown among other nations; and laws were repeatedly made * for the calling of annual parliaments; a security for the people which was not obtained, either when monarchy was destroyed under Charles I. nor when liberty was enthroned at the revolution.

Spirit of civil
freedom in
churchmen.

THE zeal for independence was not confined to the laity. Langton Archbishop of Canterbury was at the head of the nobles †, who maintained the first great struggle for *Magna Charta* against King John. After the same act of security had by the aid of the bishops and abbots been extorted from his son ‡, they stood around it, with burning tapers in their hands, whilst it was read in parliament, and denounced curses against those who should infringe it. They con-

* 4 Ed. 3. cap. 14. 36 Ed. 3. cap. 10.

‡ Ibid. in the reign of Henry III.

† Hume, in the reign of K. John.

curred with the laity in most of their attempts to humble their princes. And Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury *, in defence of those parts of the great charter which protected his own order, placed himself at the head of his clergy, in regular opposition to Edward III. a Prince who could ill brook opposition to his will.

THE united spirit of laymen and churchmen rose equally against ecclesiastical tyranny. The prelates, as well as the nobles, stood by William Rufus and Henry I. † against the usurpations of Anselm. Both disclaimed their allegiance to King John, because he had given his to the Pope. If the church did not concur with the parliament, in support of the constitutions of Clarendon, which were intended by Henry II. as an eternal barrier to the encroachments of Rome ‡, it was because these constitutions struck not only against the power of that see, but against the power and jurisdiction of the English church. In the reign of Henry III. the dignified clergy refused to submit to taxes imposed upon them by the Pope, although submission was recommended by the King §: And the bishop of London exclaimed upon this occasion, "That, if the mitre was taken from his head, he would clap a helmet in its place." The parliaments ¶ of Edward I. and III. of Richard II. and of Henry IV. and VI. were incessant in their expression of zeal, for maintaining the independence of their church upon that of Rome. So early as the reign of Henry IV. †, the house of commons petitioned the King to seize the temporalities of the church. The first reformer in Europe was Wickliffe, an Englishman. Henry VIII. in concurrence with the inclinations of most of his prelates, his nobles, and his people, threw off entirely the yoke of foreign ecclesiastical bondage.

Common spirit of freedom in the laity and clergy against the church of Rome.

THE clergy of England may justly boast, that, while the churchmen of other countries, during the reigns of popery, were either aiding the King against the people, or the Pope against both; they

* Hume, in the reign of Edward III.

† Ibid. in the reigns of these Princes.

‡ Lord Littelton, vol. 1. p. 72. et seq.

§ Hume, in the reign of Henry III.

¶ Hume, in these reigns.

† See the authorities in Hume, in Henry IV.'s reign.

supported the people against the former, and both against the latter.

Abolition of slavery.

It must not be forgot, that the love of freedom, which could not be controuled by the highest, stooped in mercy to the lowest conditions of mankind. That state of villenage, which in other countries required the force of laws to abolish it, disappeared without the aid of compulsion, in a country where the rights of human nature were respected, because those of the citizens were revered.

Causes of the declension of royal power.

THE gradual diminution of the power of the crown was chiefly the effect of three causes.

First political cause, the want of treasure.

No sovereign power can support itself long, which has not the command of treasure and of arms. But, during several centuries after the reign of Henry II. the English Princes possessed neither. The natural progress of the feudal sovereignty is to impoverish the sovereign; because, as all the subjects are vassals, every subject who approaches the King has a favour to ask, and every favour granted is at the expence of the crown. Although the possessions of William the Conqueror were originally very extensive in England; yet, in the course of his reign, he diminished them greatly *, by gifts to his followers, in order to attach them to the fortunes of his family. His three immediate successors, who were prodigal in their tempers, and who had disputed successions to maintain, imitated with much less discretion his example. Henry II. indeed recalled the grants of his predecessor; but he was obliged to receive them back with a sparing hand. He likewise † introduced the practice of exchanging the military services of his vassals, for equivalents in money; a striking proof of the necessities to which he was reduced. The revenues of Henry III. and Henry VI. did not amount to 60,000 pounds a year. Those of intermediate Princes could not be larger. The loss of the French provinces under Henry VI. diminished the

* Hume ii. 115.

† Lord Littelton, vol. i. with his authorities.

royal wealth ; because, while the expences of defending them had been defrayed by the nation, the profits they yielded had accrued to the crown. Queen Mary's revenue, after all the depredations of her father and grandfather, amounted only to 300,000 pounds. Those of Queen Elizabeth and James I. notwithstanding the increase of trade, and consequently of the customs, did not produce above 150,000 pounds more. The legal revenue of Charles I. upon which he was obliged to support all the national expence, and his own, did not exceed 700,000 pounds *. Hence the extortions of so many of the old Princes upon the Jews, of Henry VII. upon his subjects, and of his son upon the church. Hence the various attempts of Kings to raise money without the aid of parliament ; and which parliaments sometimes overlooked, from their consciousness of the necessity which called for them. Hence the excessive attention of Queen Elizabeth to œconomy, which she well knew could alone keep her independent of parliament ; and the sale of almost all the lands of the crown by her sister, herself, and her successor. Hence the necessities of the two first Princes of the Stuart race created the first grounds of jealousy between them and their subjects. And hence, when Cromwel, with a rougher hand than that of any lawful Prince, levied two millions a year from the people, he gave a splendour to usurpation, which monarchy had not for many centuries enjoyed.

PRINCES without wealth cannot expect that armies will implicitly obey them. The feudal militias, which, at the command of their Lords, flocked to the standard of the King, were ready at the same command to turn their swords against him. When the successors of Henry II. followed his example, in taking money from their vassals, in lieu of military service, they lost the resource even of these militias. Standing armies took not the posts around the throne, which the military tenants had quitted : For Britain being defended by the sea, her Princes had not the same pretence with those of the continent for maintaining standing forces to protect their dominions against foreign attacks. Temporary armies alone were therefore employed in time of war : But these, from their nature, defended the person, with-

Second political cause,
want of arms.

* Hume, in these reigns.

out securing the authority of the sovereign. Hence, in every war since the reign of Henry II. which English Kings have maintained against their parliaments, or even against any great body of their nobles, they have always been unsuccessful. Hence, when the long parliament endeavoured to wrest from Charles I. the command of the national militia, the only defence remaining with the crown, the torch which had been only lighting before, was instantly set to the war. And hence Cromwel, with fifty thousand soldiers at his back, kept in awe the most turbulent of nations, in the most turbulent of periods.

Natural cause,
extent of the
kingdom.

To these causes we must add the small extent of the kingdom, to which Wales, Scotland, and the northern counties, did not originally belong. In realms of moderate extent, the interests and injuries of all are known to all; the passions are communicated like fire from breast to breast; the correspondence of chiefs and of parties is exact; they can form or conceal their resolutions without danger; the people who are to execute them can be assembled in an instant; and the sovereign who invades the rights of his subjects, does it at the hazard of his own. Those ties, which for many centuries bound almost every subject of Spain and of France to his neighbour, in opposition to arbitrary power, were dissolved when all the separate provinces of these kingdoms were formed into two vast empires of unconnected citizens.

Power of nobility.

THE struggles against sovereign power, during a long period of the English government, were maintained almost solely by the nobles and prelates; because the ancient constitution of England, like that of all other feudal governments, was a monarchy limited by an aristocracy alone. In the reign of the Conqueror, all the lands of England which belonged not to the Sovereign, were the property of 700 of his vassals. These making an assembly nearly as numerous * as the present houses of Lords and Commons united, had a right to sit in parliament; and, together with the bishops and abbots, were the only persons who enjoyed that privilege. By the constitution of the kingdom, the King could not levy taxes, without their consent: By their military tenures, the sword was in their

* Hist. of feudal property, cap. 8.

hands; the feudal arrangement gave them jurisdictions upon their estates, which extended to property of the highest value, and to life. In process of time, what Kings lost, their vassals often gained; and, as the crown waxed weaker, they grew more strong.

BUT the progress of a feudal monarchy does not move in a more uniform direction, in yielding to the power of the nobility, than that of a feudal aristocracy, in giving way to the rights of the people. All nobles, from their superiority of rank, are exposed to expences in time of peace, which impair their estates, and they ruin themselves in war, paying, by what they suffer in their fortunes, for the laurels which they gain in the field. The grandeur and hospitality of the ancient nobility of England were unparalleled in Europe. In foreign wars, they increased the splendour of their appearance, with a view to augment the superiority of their country in the eyes of foreigners. The loss of the French provinces under Henry the VIth, tended likewise to exhaust the estates of the English nobility*; because, being accustomed to great expence while they enjoyed the revenues of those provinces, the habit of the expence remained, after the means of supporting it no longer existed. Even in the common course of the partition of estates by succession, the power of great families came to be lessened, by being divided. The same exemption from military service, which the Kings had sold to their vassals, the nobles sold likewise to theirs. The nobles still, however, endeavoured to preserve the shadow of their former strength in the number of their retainers. But they were soon obliged to quit even that shadow, partly by the rise of the arts in Europe, which gave a new direction to the expences of the great; and partly by the jealousy of Henry VII. who multiplied laws against retainers. In the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, to which 80 Princes of the royal blood fell victims, the ancient nobility of England was almost exterminated; and the new nobility, created from time to time to prevent the order itself from expiring, had neither the dignity nor the pride of the old barons by tenure. The refor-

Fall of the
power of the
nobility.

* This is an observation of the wise Philip de Commines.

mation lessened both the number of the ecclesiastical Lords in the house of peers, and the importance of those who remained. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. took a pleasure * in invading the jurisdictions, and humbling the pride of the great families. Their ministers and favourites were mostly new men, selected from the professions of the law and the church: There were only two of the order of nobility in the first council of Henry VIII. and seven out of twenty-six guardians, whom the same Prince provided for the minority of his successor. Henry VII. removed the last security which remained to the nobles, by facilitating the destruction of their entails; trusting thus the fate of the highest order of his kingdom to the effects of dissipation and chance in ages to come.

Causes of the
rise of the
commons.

THAT power which had originally belonged to the crown, and afterwards to the nobles, fell in the end imperceptibly into the hands of the commons. Various causes contributed to this, besides the first great cause, the high spirit of the people, indignant of servitude, and, by their love of independence and justice, destined to be free.

1st cause.—
The power
of the sword
passes into
their hands.

WHEN the military tenures went generally into disuse, the sword of the people, hitherto employed to aggrandize the King or the nobles, became an instrument of power and consideration to the hand by which it was held. The feudal militias were, in the reign of Henry V. † exchanged for national arrays. And on these were ingrafted afterwards the national militias: Both, bodies of men composed, not of military tenants and their vassals alone, but in which every freeman grasped a sword who had strength to wield it, and in which all men transferred to their country those attachments which their forefathers had felt only for the persons of those who commanded it. These arrays and militias gave the more strength to the people, because they were introduced in times, when the military spirit flew from man to man, and from rank to rank, in the nation; before the occupations of industry had become so incessant, as to make freemen deem it an infringement of their freedom, to be obliged to defend

* Hist. of feudal property, cap. 7:

† Hume, 325.

themselves; and before the regularity of standing forces had thrown a false ridicule upon the man who should pretend to wield both a hammer and a musket.

FROM the civil wars of the Princes with their barons, and of the Princes with each other, the commons derived importance; for, whatever were the titles of the great, the swords of the many determined the contest. But while, in similar disputes in other countries, the multitude found the only rewards of victory in its pleasure, the commons of England insisted for more solid advantages as the price of their blood. In every law of liberty extorted by the nobles, or freely granted by Kings, to serve the ends of either, the commons, courted on all sides, were made sharers of the blessing.

2d cause.—
They get
free laws,

FREE judgments followed free laws. In order to curb the power of the barons arising from their territorial jurisdictions, the crown raised the dignity of the national courts of justice. The barons at first saw the importance of the innovation: For, in order to weaken the connection between the King and these courts, they provided, in the great charter, that the courts should be stationary, and not follow his person, as they had anciently done. But by degrees they submitted, partly because they were conscious of their incapacity to give proper attention to proceedings of law in their own courts, and partly because they looked upon such attentions as inconsistent with their dignity. But, as the trust thus voluntarily reposed in the national courts depended long for its continuance upon the integrity of the judges, and uniformity of their judgments, a system of equal jurisprudence gradually arose, which, by binding the King, the noble, and the peasant alike, maintained the independance of the lower ranks upon the higher.

and free
judgments.

THE enfranchisements of boroughs, which were originally almost in a state of slavery, the disuse of villenage, and the suppression of retainers and of monasteries, threw two great bodies of industrious, and two great bodies of idle men, who before had scarcely been members of the community, into the scale of the commons. But

3d cause.—
By industry
they get
wealth.
Interior
causes of
industry.

wherever men enjoy freedom, and see wealth held up to them as the reward of their industry, they will spring forward to gain it. During these innovations, the higher ranks at home were fond of expence, and the arts were rising all over Europe: England was full of inhabitants and provisions; many instruments of commerce, and some which other nations possessed not, were produced within herself; she was surrounded by the sea on all sides but one; replete with harbours and rivers; and her nearest neighbours, the Flemings, the most industrious people on this side of the Ganges, were a continual example of envy and imitation: In this situation, when new ranks were gradually thrown into the society, and pressed upon the old, both were obliged to exert an industry in husbandry, manufacture, and trade, without which neither could have subsisted.

External
causes of
industry.

WHILE these causes were operating upon the growth of industry at home, accidental circumstances from abroad completed the effect of them. The severities of Charles V. in Spain, the Netherlands, and Germany, partly on civil, and partly on religious accounts, and still more the religious persecutions, which, after his time, took place in France, the Netherlands, and Germany, induced vast numbers of foreign manufacturers to import their arts, their stocks, and their parsimony, into a country in which they could enjoy both liberty and their religion. These emigrations had the more effect because they happened at a period when the flux of treasures into Europe from the new world gave additional incitements to the industry of the lower, and to the prodigality of the higher ranks of mankind.

THE extension of commerce produced two immediate and important effects.

One effect of
industry was
to change
the property
of lands.

IN the first place, it transferred a great part of the land property of the kingdom to a body of men, who, in the origin of the constitution, had hardly any share of land property at all. For a great part of the money, which the commons acquired by commerce and parsimony, was employed in purchasing the estates of the nobility, of the church, and of the crown, which were thrown gradually into

market, from the time of Henry the VIIth, until the end of the reign of James I. This transition was the more important, because it was made at periods when the interest of money being high, lands were sold proportionally low, and when people being ignorant of the art of improving land, lands did not produce one third of the rents which, in the course of a century, they came to yield to their new proprietors.

ANOTHER consequence of commerce was to draw great numbers of men from the country into towns, for the advantages of mutual intercourse. But the republican form of government in which towns are conducted, the natural equality which takes place among fellow-citizens, the necessity for that security of property which is the basis of commerce, and the continual opportunities and habits which men living in public have to converse upon public interests; all contributed to spread and to fortify the sentiments of liberty.

Another was to increase the towns.

THE train of causes and effects is as regular in the political, as in the natural world. Political power continually depends upon arms, freedom, and wealth. The commons of England rose in power exactly in proportion as they gained in these. By the feudal constitution, all who held their estates of the crown owed attendance in parliament. And those who held their estates in that manner in England were, as has been said, originally 700 in number: But when, by the partition of the original great estates, and the enfranchisement of boroughs*, the crown vassals were become so numerous, as to be incapable of being personally assembled, they appeared in parliament by their representatives. Parliaments for a long time consisted of the peers, and of these representatives, united in one assembly; and the latter, dazzled with the splendour of their associates, and representing an order which felt not as yet its own weight, were, during this period, of little consequence. But, in proportion as the commons gained importance, their representatives assumed it. And, when the commons were formed into an assembly separate from the peers, they extended that importance under the advantage of sup-

The commons gain parliamentary importance.

* Hist. of feudal property, cap. 8.

porting the interests of a separate body. The privileges of the commons became then the greater object of attention; because, by the partition of the estates of the original great vassals, in the common course of succession, a numerous gentry had been formed, all of whom, although many of them had the best blood of the nation in their veins, sunk into the order of the commons, and therefore had an interest to defend those rights which were the foundation of their own. It is a curious fact in the history of English liberty, that the first person who was raised by the commons to the dignity of their speaker *, was a member who had been imprisoned by Edward III. for attacking his ministers and mistresses in parliament. From the period of that Prince's reign, the house of commons regularly increased in consideration and power.

Interruption
of national
freedom un-
der the house
of Tudor.

BUT, during the gradual declension in the power of the nobility, and the gradual rise in that of the commons, it was natural, at a period when the one order was weak, and the other knew not as yet its own strength, that the crown, no longer opposed by either, should enjoy extraordinary powers. During this period, the family of Tudor filled the throne. It was fortunate, too, for Henry VII. the first Prince of that family, that, a civil war of thirty years having animated one half of the nation against the other, no common opposition could be made to his power: Yet even he was taught, by five rebellions, that, though a severe Prince may sometimes invade the liberties of a free people with impunity, he cannot do it without danger. His son had still greater advantages; because the different religious parties who courted his favour were sensible, that the best way to obtain it, was to throw their liberties at his feet; and because, by the act of supremacy, all the power which had belonged to the pope, was united in his person to that of the crown. The reign of this Prince, therefore, afforded the first melancholy example, that parliaments may be the worst instruments of tyranny in the hands of a tyrant: Yet, by aiming at too much, he laid a foundation for the crown to lose all he had gained in its favour. For, in an evil hour for his successors, he made the doctrine of pas-

* Hume 3. p. 3.

five obedience and non-resistance a part of the constitution of the church: A doctrine utterly incompatible with freedom; and against which, therefore, the minds of freemen never ceased to revolt. England recovered a ray of liberty during the minority of Edward VI. But it served only to make the gloom which succeeded in the reign of Queen Mary appear more dark. Yet even that female tyrant was obliged to dismiss two of the four parliaments which she assembled, because they would not comply with her will, and that of a husband who was as tyrannical as herself. Queen Elizabeth continued to possess the power of her family, although the commons had now come to feel their own weight, and although the spirit of the nation had been exasperated by multiplied insults. But many circumstances prevented that weight and that spirit from being exerted against her: Her popularity made opposition to her power unpopular: Upon the support of that power the protestant religion depended for the security of its own. Men forgot, in their danger from foreign invasions, the precedents that were established at home against the liberties of their posterity. Even the circumstance of the Queen's sex, with the romantic manners of the age, made her subjects confound their subjection to a sovereign with their gallantry to a woman. By all the arts of woman, added to all the boldness of man, she staved off the evil day, that was to bring the power of the crown and that of the commons to try their strength against each other.

THE English constitution, by setting the legislative and executive powers in opposition to each other, contains the seeds of continual dissention. Political bodies opposed are never at rest; and every deviation from ancient usage is a step gained, or a step lost, for prerogative or for freedom: For few Princes are wise enough to know, that no King can be truly great, the minds of whose subjects are not as high as his own; and few subjects are generous enough to acknowledge, that the same principles in a limited monarchy, which tie every citizen to another, should bind the whole to the throne. When a new family therefore was advanced to the crown,

Struggles for
the revival of
liberty under
the house of
Stuart.

and from a country long feared and hated by those who bestowed it; at a time when the powers of the higher orders of the state, those of the nobility and of the church, were fallen; when the crown was possessed of power only recently obtained, depending only upon the imaginations of those who had been accustomed to obey, but without wealth or arms to support it; and when the commons possessed a great part of that superiority in all things which belonged formerly to the nobility, the church, and the King; the effects of the alterations which had happened in the conditions of the orders of the state quickly appeared: And that appearance could not fail to be attended with convulsions in the constitution; because old principles of government could not apply to new situations in the governors and the governed. When James I. advised his nobles to live upon their estates, and not about court, when he created peerages with a seemingly prodigal hand, for which he has been foolishly blamed, when he ordered twelve chairs to be placed for a deputation of the house of commons, because he said, "twelve Kings were at hand," he saw the tempest that was approaching. The house of commons assumed to themselves powers and privileges unknown to their ancestors; and, when they were provoked by their monarchs, aimed their blows in the end at the monarchy: And the Princes of the Stuart family, who saw the only orders of the state humbled, which had been accustomed to controul royal power, but who did not attend that another order had stepped into their place, considered even the assertions of ancient liberty, as innovations in the constitution when the commons were the assertors.

Circumstance
in the consti-
tution which
led to ex-
tremes be-
tween the
house of Stu-
art and the
commons.

AN accidental circumstance in the English constitution hastened matters to extremes between the family of Stuart and the house of commons. From the most ancient times, the power of providing taxes had been committed to the representatives of the people, because the people were chiefly to pay them: A privilege of little consequence, so long as the revenues of the crown arose from demesnes and feudal perquisites, and taxes were, upon that ac-

count, small, temporary, and seldom levied; and even as long as the crown could support itself upon the plunder of France, of the church, of all who would submit to be plundered, and upon its own ruins. But, when all these resources were gone, and government could be supported in no other way than by taxes, the power of giving these came to be of the last importance. And the commons, conscious of this, demanded, as the price of the money which they gave to the house of Stuart, that those breaches which the house of Tudor had made in the ancient liberties of England should be repaired. But, as both the crown and the commons rated their demands too low, and their concessions too high, disputes ensued, and contention closed the scene.

DURING these struggles, the nation ranged itself into two parties, known in the reign of Charles I. by the names of *Cavalier* and *Round-head*; and, at an after period, by those of *Whig* and *Tory*. The new gentry, the trading interest, the towns, the populace, brought accessions of strength to the house of commons, but, above all, the Puritans; that body of men, whom the same impatience of authority which had raised the church of England against that of Rome, spurred on against the church of England; who, taking their rise from the people, preserving the equality, simplicity, and rusticity of the people in the ranks of their clergy, and the modes of their worship, were averse even to civil authority; who were more dreadful than other persons, because they joined the republican spirit to that of enthusiasm; whose associates had stirred up civil war, first in Germany, then in France, and, lastly, in the Low Countries; and who were themselves ready to plunge into it in England and Scotland. Upon the other hand, the peers and prelates ranked themselves behind that throne which they had been accustomed to shake; the latter, because the Puritans were equally enemies to the crown and to them; and both because they knew, that, under the ruins of the throne, their own honours could not fail to be buried. The greatest part of the landed interest followed their example; partly from the fear of danger to their property in popular innovations; and partly from that contempt of the populace which landed men

Rise of parties of Whig and Tory.

always indulge, and that connection with the higher ranks to which they naturally aspire. The Roman Catholics, knowing that their greatest enemies, the Puritans, were in the opposite scale, brought a zealous but inconsiderable addition to the weight of the crown. The ancient nobility, in their struggles with their Sovereigns, had stopped at deposing them: But the republican and puritanical commons, with a more democratical spirit, brought their Sovereign, under the forms of justice, like a common member of the community, to a public trial, and a public execution. With the same levelling hand, they laid the peerage, the church, the parliament, and the law itself, in the dust.

THE civil wars, which accompanied and followed these last outrages, mark that state of disorder into which high-spirited nations are plunged, before they can accomplish a regular system of liberty, or are subjected to a regular system of prerogative.

Reflection
from the
foregoing
review.

It is a characteristic of Providence, which human wisdom should not however attempt to imitate, to employ apparent evils for the attainment of real good, and to render dissension, as well as union, beneficial to mankind. The British nation has made its way through many dangers and troubles: The parties, by which it has been agitated, may have, each in their turns, run to extremes: But the result of the whole has been a constitution, which, by securing to all orders of men the rights of mankind, has never been equalled in any age or nation. Nor is this blessing to be valued for itself, more than for the national vigour and character which have been acquired in the attainment of it. Men are generally formed by their occupations and pursuits: Accustomed to important and perilous occasions, and engaged in the worthiest pursuits, those of equal justice and freedom, they become, like the subjects of Britain, high-minded, capable, and brave. From the continual attention to public affairs, the people have acquired a public and generous spirit: From the vigour and confidence of men inured to affairs, and secured in their rights, they have derived their success in every branch of science, and of every liberal and mechanical art, making manifest to all this

animating truth, that the genius of nations is always in proportion to their spirit. We are too apt to regret as an evil the disputes and agitations of a free people; forgetting that, man's nature being active, he must continue to act, or cease to exist; or, in the words of one of the greatest of philosophers, "That the lustre which he casts around him, like the flame of a meteor, shines only while his motion continues; and that the moments of rest, and of obscurity, are the same *."

* Ferguson's essay on the history of civil society, part v. § 2.

REVIEW

OF

EVENTS AFTER THE RESTORATION,

CONNECTED WITH

THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS.

Popularity of
Charles II.

UPON the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, there appeared in the joy of the nation, not so much the common affectation of public, as the effusion of private passion. Men thought all they could do for the son was too little in reparation for the murder of the father; and the new Prince, in his gratitude for this cordiality, seemed to have forgot the injuries done to both. It was a singular spectacle, to see a parliament, composed of many of those members who had torn the crown from the head of their late Sovereign, prostrate at the feet of the present one, imploring pardon in the name of the nation; and the vote for this ceremony presented by Denzil Holles, one of the five members whom the King's father had gone into the house of commons to seize with his own hands. Several of the popular party were brought into the privy-council, and multitudes into office; three of the most noted, Holles, Annesley, and Ashley Cooper, were gratified with peerages; an honour afterwards ill requited by the

last of them. Two of the presbyterian ministers were made chaplains to the King, and bishopricks offered to three, though accepted only by one of them. The forts were dismantled, the army was disbanded, and for this last measure the most popular of all reasons assigned, "That the best guards which could surround a King of England, were the affections of his people." A project was discouraged by Clarendon, for the settlement of such a revenue upon the King, as would have made him for ever independent of parliament. Even from enemies and conquerors, Charles and his ministers borrowed wisdom; for they attempted not to revive the star-chamber, or the ecclesiastical commission, courts abolished by the long parliament; and they imitated the example of the republic in suppressing the court of wards. Charles privately promoted the success of the bill of indemnity in the house of commons, and he publicly checked the severity of the house of lords, in their proceedings upon it. His minister, the virtuous Southampton, having proposed to give those prisoners, who had surrendered in obedience to the King's proclamation, the same number of days for saving themselves by flight, to which, by that proclamation, they were intitled before they surrendered, the nation respected his candour and compassion, and the King his spirit. Sentence of death was executed only upon a few who had pronounced the same sentence upon the late King, or whose guilt was equivalent. The most cruel circumstance in the trial of these persons * was, that several of the popular party, of whom Ashley Cooper was one, sat as their judges, and doomed them to die for that rebellion to which they had incited them. Attention was shewn even to the prejudices of the populace: It was contrived, that the King should make his public entry into London upon his birth-day; and his coronation was delayed near a year, that it might be celebrated upon the anniversary of the tutelar saint of England.

THE expressions of the King and of his court were calculated to restore good-humour to the people, and to reconcile the animosity

* Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 59.

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of parties almost spent with contention. To the presbyterian clergy, who waited upon him in a body, Charles said, "I will make you as happy as I am myself." To his parliament, "I will as soon burn *Magna Charta*, as forget the act of oblivion." Clarendon, with a familiarity of expression, derived from the manners of an age in which the distinctions of rank had been levelled, told the commons, that, when the King heard any member was discontented, he used to say, "What have I done to deserve this gentleman's dislike? I wish he and I were acquainted, that I might give him satisfaction." The same minister informed both houses, "That, when he was ambassador in Spain, he had received strict orders from his master, to lay the late King's murder upon a few of the worst of the nation, but to justify the nation itself." When Charles, in excuse for seeking money from the commons, said to them, "That he could afford to keep no table except that at which he himself eat; and that it troubled him to see so many of themselves come to wait upon him at Whitehall, and go away without their dinners," the juvenile pleasantry was received with smiles of indulgence: But, when he added, "That he was ashamed not to have it in his power to provide for those cavaliers who had been ruined for his father," a nobler feeling arose in the breasts of his hearers*.

To actions and words so engaging, the two first parliaments of Charles II. during the first five years of his reign, made every return that could be expected. They voted him a revenue of 1,200,000 pounds a year; a provision, which, though found afterwards inadequate to the expences of government, was the greatest which any parliament had ever made for any King of England. All coercive power, even in both houses united, over the person of the King, was renounced. With the command of the militia, the power of the sword was restored to the crown. The obnoxious triennial act was repealed, which had made provision for the assembling of parliament, even without consent of the Sovereign. An act was passed, by which Charles was empowered, during a limited time, to purge

* Ralph.

corporations of those magistrates whose principles he suspected. The hierarchy, that great support of monarchy, was replaced in all its grandeur. And the doctrine of non-resistance, a principle so dangerous to liberty, yet frequently grievous even to its authors, was brought back into the tenets of the church, and confirmed by an oath, required of all her members. So that every advantage which Charles could reasonably wish for, in revenue, in arms, in religion, and in political power, was bestowed upon him. Only to the King's dispensing power, his parliament, even in the height of its loyalty, would not submit. When *, in the year 1662, he published a declaration of indulgence, in which, under many reserves, he asserted the dispensing power, and intimated his inclinations to soften the more severe parts of the penal laws against persons who were not of the established religion, the house of commons let him know, that the crown had no such power, and urged him to recal his declaration; and the house of lords could be brought no further, than to pass a bill, which empowered him to make the dispensation he wanted; a bill which implied, that, without leave of parliament, the King had not the dispensing power which he aimed at.

YET, amidst these promising appearances between Prince and people, there lurked the fruits of past dissensions, and the seeds of future ones.

Revival of parties.

THE spirit of liberty, which had been awed by the sense of danger, or had appeared to be smothered in the rejoicings of the public, gathered force in secret from its interruption. It had been agreed at the restoration, that the political pretensions of the executive and legislative powers, which had been the subject of the war, should be passed over in silence. Hence the occasions of contest, which had subsisted almost from the time of the conquest, remained as open as ever between those powers, whose movements were now only suspended by their own fears, and by their awe of the sentiments of the people, to which both were obliged to appeal, when they could appeal to no compromise. The friends to the constitution were there-

1st cause.
The popular party unites.

* Bishop's trial, p. 782.

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fore anxious that it should not become worse, since it had been made so little better.

MANY of the republicans too from nature could not, and others from conscience would not, relinquish their old principles; and, when the republic they adored was no more to be obtained, they converted their hatred of monarchy into jealousy of the monarch.

To these two bodies of men, the dissenters, their ancient allies, joined themselves, partly from a continuation of their original principles, but more from recent enmity; for the presbyterians complained, that the King, by consenting to the act of uniformity, the ejection of 2000 of their clergy in one day, and the five mile and conventicle acts, had, at the instigation of the church, broken the faith which he had plighted to them at Breda.

2d cause.
The royalists
not united.

EVEN many of those persons, whose natural connections should have bound them to the throne, ranked not behind it, or were unable to give it support. The higher ranks of the nation were thinned by war, or impoverished by forfeiture. Many of their daughters had been married, in times of distress, to Cromwell's officers, or to the clergy who then prevailed: Many of their sons had engaged in trade: And all these forgot the ancient sentiments of their families, adopted new ones, and added dignity to them. While the country party, by their constant residence in England, knew the merit of every pretender to importance, yielded to direction, and acted as an united body in parliament, the cavaliers*, who had been scattered all over England and Europe, ignorant of each other's characters, while every man was confident of his own, would not submit their sentiments or conduct to each other. The competition for royal favour and gratitude, between old and recent services, and between different degrees of sufferings in the cause of royalty, at a time when every man thought his own services and sufferings the greatest, tended still further to throw dissension into a party, which distress had combined, but success tore

* Clarendon's continuation, vol. 1.

afunder. Some of the royalists* were alarmed even with the loyalty of the nation, being apprehensive, lest, in the tide of the King's popularity, the just rights of the people might be lost. Charles's own inattention to too many of the cavaliers who had suffered in his cause, which arose partly from his inability to serve them, and perhaps, partly from the uneasiness which the consciousness of his obligations to them gave him, lost him many of that faithful band. It was wittily said, "That the act of oblivion was an act of pardon for his enemies, and of oblivion for his friends."

THE remembrance of past, the fear of future evils, infused a jealousy into the government of Charles, which widened the divisions of his subjects, when a more generous conduct would have closed them.

Third cause.
Jealousies in
government.

THE army had, with reluctance, submitted to the order of disbanding: In the fullen manners, and frequent meetings of the soldiers, before they were brought to the place of dismissal, and, when upon the field, in the fierceness of their looks, which were thrown alternately on the King and on their own ranks, the violent emotions and uncertainty of their spirits were distinctly visible. The officers therefore, who, by disbanding them, had submitted to lose their own independence, in order to secure that of their Sovereign, thought some returns of confidence were due to such generosity. Of a profession to be won by honourable trust, their pride was hurt in the tenderest part, when, a few months after, all the disbanded officers were ordered by a proclamation to depart five miles from London, upon a trifling insurrection of sixty Millenerians. They were still more provoked, by finding, in all the accounts of insurrections published by authority, their order accused as the source of them. When the French and Dutch fleets threatened the coasts of England, and these officers pressed forward beyond others to defend them, their fidelity to laws which they might have overturned was acknowledged, but forgot as soon as the danger was over. The soldiers too felt the injuries done to their officers. They were fifty thousand in number, and many of them younger sons of gentlemen and

* Lord North's Memoirs in North's examen, p. 426.

tradesmen, whom Cromwell's high pay had induced to enter into the service. So that the discontents of the army infected the whole mass of the people.

THE more rigid sectaries, from being continually suspected, came to deserve suspicion. When the malecontents threw the blame of burning London upon the Roman catholics, the court, by a mean retaliation, imputed the fatality to the sectaries. These men were driven to despair upon perceiving, in the expressions not only of the King's proclamations, but of the laws, which should be the sacred repositories of truth alone, that they and the malecontents were blended together, as if no man could differ from the church, without being a traitor to the state.

CLARENDON, whose views were narrowed by his profession, and whose mind was weakened by his fears, spread rumours of plots and insurrections incessantly in parliament and in the nation; thus throwing a gloom over the commonweal, through excess of attention to its welfare, and keeping the memory of divisions alive, which should have been heard of only in their effects. Even from the silence of party, he derived proofs of sedition: "Novum seditionis genus" (said he from Livy) "silentium otiumque inter cives." Mobs were swelled into insurrections, and insurrections into concerted rebellion. In times of suspicion, all the gaols in the kingdom were filled with state-prisoners, and, even during peace, the court swarmed with informers, and the country with spies. By such language and such measures, many well-disposed persons were driven out of the middle course, in which they were steering, when they heard that their love of liberty was imputed to their hatred of the court.

4th cause.
The carelessness of the King's personal character.

THE King's manner of living and conversation, which, by exposing his faults to those around his person, reconciled them to their own, gave offence to others at a distance, who knew not how agreeable to the little are the weaknesses of the great. His amours appeared crimes in the eyes of subjects, who had been accustomed to make no distinction between vices and crimes. His want of œconomy provoked men, amongst whom the manners of the age made

private parsimony be accounted a virtue. The whig party, at one of their meetings, proposed to impeach some of his mistresses upon account of the poverty in which their extravagance had involved him: But old Lord Mordaunt said, that "They ought rather to erect statues to the ladies who made their lover dependent upon parliament for his subsistence." To many he appeared to hold government itself in too little respect. And a saying of his, "That he attended the debates of parliament, because they diverted him as much as going to a play," was disobliging to many, who, in those days, could not, without sentiments of reverence, hear the name of parliament pronounced.

BUT that which above all things made the people uneasy in themselves, and jealous of their prince, was their sentiments with regard to popery. The efforts actually made, and the suspicions that more were continually making by the Roman catholics, to re-establish their lost power, and their forbidden faith, together with the assassinations and massacres encouraged by too many even of their clergy, filled the minds of protestants all over Europe, during more than a century after the reformation, with terrors by day, and dreams by night. Elizabeth, whose title to the crown was denied by the Pope, whose life was in continual danger from the catholics, and who owed her greatness, at home and abroad, to her being accounted the head of the protestants, urged her parliaments for rigorous laws against popery, and, without persecution, maintained them with firmness. James I. whose dangers and ambition were not so great, slackened the reins, at first, from some liberality of thought derived from reading, afterwards from an inclination of temper to favour whatever the puritans hated, and, in the end, from the vanity of marrying his son to a daughter of Spain or France. Charles I. had great obligations to the catholics, and suffered for having shown his sense of them; circumstances which, in the minds of many, united his cause with theirs, and made them interpret his zeal for the church into a bias for popery. These family-suspicions were accumulated upon the head of Charles II. Even the church dreaded his foreign education, a mother's anxiety, and was jealous of popery lurking in the breast of the King and his brother.

Last cause.
Suspicions of
the popery of
the royal fa-
mily.

Effects of
these causes
appear at the
end of the
first Dutch
war,

and break
forth upon
the conver-
sion of the
Duke and
the second
Dutch war.
Charles's
aversion
against the
Dutch.

IN this disposition of the minds of men, war, fire, and pestilence, the three worst scourges of human life, having been united at the conclusion of the first Dutch war, by inspiring melancholy, affected the tempers of the people of England. The parliament petitioned Charles to disband his army, attacked his ministers, and repeatedly declined to give him supplies.

BUT the effects of all these passions broke forth chiefly upon the conversion of the King's brother, and the second Dutch war which followed it.

THE ruling public passion of Charles II. was animosity against the Dutch, to which many causes contributed: The manners of the people of Holland, so opposite to his own, and the form of their government, similar to that which had nearly destroyed monarchy in England, created his personal aversion. The affronts which they had put upon the youth of his nephew the Prince of Orange, and the high tone they assumed, and which is natural to all maritime powers, because they can insult every where with impunity, roused his pride. He envied the glories of Cromwell, who had humbled the then masters of the ocean. Necessitous from the parsimony of parliament, he hoped to supply his wants by the plunder of a people who at that time were possessed of most of the wealth of Europe. And, by raising the English trade upon the ruins of the Dutch trade, he flattered himself, that he might both please the nation, and increase his own revenues by the increase of his customs. A few years after he was restored to his throne, he had taken advantage of the national jealousies of the English; and, converting the piques of merchants into the quarrels of nations, had engaged England in a war with Holland. During that war, he offered to abandon all Flanders to France*, if she would not interpose to save Holland from the power of his arms. The ill-humours of parliament, the disgrace at Chatham, and the junction of France and Denmark with Holland, which gave occasion for an observation of Lewis XIV. "That the English saw no coasts, except those of enemies, from Bergen to Bayonne," forced Charles to desist from that war. Soon after, indeed,

* D'Estades, 1665.

he entered into the triple alliance with Sweden and Holland, to protect Flanders from France. But this was only the effect of the alarm which the sudden pretensions of Lewis XIV. to the succession of the Spanish monarchy had given to all Europe. Amidst the rejoicings for the triple alliance, Sir Thomas Clifford, who possessed more of Charles's confidence than any of his ministers ever did, betrayed, by an unguarded expression, the secret intentions of his master: "Notwithstanding all this joy," said he, "we must still have another Dutch war."

THE Duke of York's conversion made the secret sentiments of his brother break forth into action.

Conversion
of the Duke.

THE ruling passion in that Prince's breast was zeal for religion. For this, even whilst a youth and an exile, he had broken through the laws of discretion and of nature, by insisting that the Duke of Gloucester should be taken from his mother's arms, to prevent her enticing his youth to the popish religion. The Duke's attachment to the Roman catholic religion was the stronger, because he believed that it was the result of his reason: For he had long studied the controversy, before he ultimately fixed his faith, and was not converted until the year 1669. Symons, a jesuit, was the person to whom James owed this change, and his family its ruin.

THE same zeal which made the Duke avow his conversion, as soon as it was completed, persuaded him, that he could not expiate former errors, without extending the effects of that conversion to the rest of human kind. So early as the 25th of January 1669-70, a plan was formed in his closet with Lord Clifford and Lord Arundel of Wardour, both of the popish religion, and Lord Arlington who was well affected to it, for a secret treaty with France for that purpose. In an evil hour for Charles II. Clarendon had taught him, in the very first years of his reign *, to receive money from France, unknown to his people: Presuming upon the same aid, the Duke,

Secret treaty
with France
in the year
1670.

* The evidence of this is in the Clarendon papers, which are soon to be published.

REVIEW OF EVENTS

and his three associates, formed the project of a treaty between the Kings of France and England, the ends of which were, that Louis XIV. should give Charles 200,000 l. a year, in order to enable him to re-establish the popish religion in England, and render his power independent of parliament; and should send forces to his assistance, in case insurrections should arise in his kingdom; and that, after the interests of religion were secured, the two monarchs should join their forces by sea and land for the destruction of the Dutch commonwealth, and divide its dominions between them and Charles's nephew, the young Prince of Orange. The scheme was immediately laid before Charles, who adopted it: And Lord Arundel was dispatched to Paris with the proposal: Louis XIV. consented to the terms asked, but with an intention to prevail afterwards upon Charles to reverse the order of the project, and begin with the attack upon Holland. The treaty was however drawn up upon the original plan, by Sir Richard Bealing, and agreed to in the beginning of the year 1670 by both Princes. But a secret, the objects of which were so dangerous to the rest of Europe, was kept concealed from all, both in France and England.

Buckingham
projects an-
other treaty.

BUT, while Charles and his brother were taking separate measures from most of the ministers, one of the ministers was treating Charles in the same manner. The King's aversion to Holland was well known at court. Buckingham was a favourite of the King's sister the Dutchess of Orleans: And, to give importance to her in France, and to himself in England, he entered into a project with her, to bring about an alliance between England and France for a new war against Holland. He first broached it to the elder Rouvigny, and then sent Sir Ellis Leighton to Paris to the Dutchess. Her intentions and his were, that the adjusting of the terms of the treaty should be committed to themselves by their two Sovereigns. Louis XIV. caught eagerly at an intrigue which he foresaw might facilitate views he had entertained when he entered into the secret treaty; but, as he knew the influence of the Dutchess with her brother, dropping attention to Buckingham, he sent her to Dover, under pretence of a visit to Charles, but, in reality, to persuade him to undertake im-

mediately the destruction of Holland, and lingered himself upon the opposite coasts of France, while the interview lasted.

It was intended, that the King and the Duke should have gone to Dover together; but, by an accident, Charles went alone: For all the conventicles were to be shut up in London, upon the ensuing Sunday, and the Duke was left behind to guard the city against riots, which were dreaded upon that occasion. And, before he went down to Dover, the Dutchess, who was herself ignorant of the former secret treaty, had proposed to her brother a treaty with France, for a war of the two kingdoms against Holland, and the payment of a subsidy from France, whilst it continued; and Charles had instantly agreed to her proposal. When the Duke arrived, he pressed his brother, but in vain, to adhere to the terms of the former treaty, and to settle the interests of religion, and the establishment of his own power at home, before he engaged himself in the difficulties of a war, which would make him dependent upon parliament.

Accident
which makes
it succeed.

THIS interview, with the parading embassy of Buckingham to Paris soon after, spread the alarm from England to Holland, and from both to the rest of Europe. Even the ominous death of the Dutchess of Orleans, which succeeded this new friendship, struck the imaginations of a people who, in those days, connected all events with religion; and the return of a French mistress to Charles, who had been sent by the French court with the Dutchess to Dover, confirmed the same serious impression: "Fatal," it was said, "must be those councils which had been sealed by the King's adultery, which had been followed by poisoning, and in which the destruction of an illustrious protestant republic had been concerted amidst feasts and revels. Heaven disapproved the project, by striking down its first conductress, before she could see the success of her snares. But the survivor was more dangerous, who would keep her lover enthralled for ever to the enchantments of a people who were the natural enemies of his own."

Cabal.

GALLED with the late oppositions in parliament to his ministers and measures, Charles, in order to divide the popular party, had, some time before this, withdrawn his confidence from his ministers of the old royal party, and pretended to give it to a new ministry, which he had formed of popular men. Southampton was dead. Clarendon had fallen a victim to the revenge of the Dutchess of Cleveland, the intrigues of rivals, the resentment of parliament, and his own imprudences. Prince Rupert, the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, Secretary Trevor, Sir William Coventry, were no longer called to councils. All power in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was committed to six men, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, Lauderdale, and Roberts; the three last of whom had drawn their swords against the King's father. Clifford had raised himself by his great influence in the house of Commons: Ashley Cooper had still greater in the house of Lords: Arlington, notwithstanding his secret inclinations to popery, had maintained connections with the dissenters: Buckingham, favouring all sects, because he was of no religion himself, was a favourite of the dissenters: Lauderdale had great interest with the presbyterians of Scotland: And Shaftesbury and Buckingham were supported by the people, because they pretended a reverence for their rights. This ministry was the most extraordinary that ever was composed: For the King had an unconquerable distrust of Shaftesbury: Though diverted with the humours of Buckingham, he was shocked with an advice which that Duke had given him to procure a parliamentary divorce from the Queen, and had once committed him to the Tower for personal offences against himself: Arlington and Buckingham were mortal foes: And Buckingham, Shaftesbury, and Lauderdale, were averse from the influence of the Duke of York with his brother, because they thought it interfered with their own; or, at least, the Duke believed that they were so. But, at the interview at Dover, the Dutchess of Orleans reconciled Arlington and Buckingham, and the King to Buckingham, and knit the famous cabal firmly together in the interests of the new alliance.

A variety of events passed about the same time which alarmed the the fears and jealousies of the nation. The Duke of York declared his communion with the church of Rome. The King broke faith with his people by obtaining a great sum from parliament to support Holland against France, although he was under secret engagements with France to destroy her. When he wanted more money to enable him to fulfil these engagements, instead of applying to parliament, he, by the advice of Shaftesbury, seized the issues of the exchequer; a measure which discovered a contempt of the laws, a design to reign independent of parliaments, and a consciousness, that the war he was undertaking was disagreeable to his people. He asserted a suspending and dispensing power in the crown, in his second declaration of indulgence. In vain he declared that that declaration was only a political measure, intended to end divisions among his protestant subjects, and to draw the Dutch traders from Holland, by a toleration of religion similar to that in their own country. The declaration irritated the church, because it shewed favour to dissenters; the dissenters, because they supposed it was meant to favour only the Roman Catholics; and the friends to liberty and the constitution, who exclaimed, "That it struck at all the laws, for which the people of England had been struggling during 1100 years: For that if the Sovereign could, without consent of parliament, dispense with one law, he could dispense with all." Many other instances of the suspending and dispensing powers followed*. The subject trembled when he saw a standing army raised and maintained without consent of parliament; and recollected that the only time the liberties of England were destroyed, was, by a standing army, under the direction of Cromwell. Day after day, the English thought they saw their liberties and religion fading from their sight. Louis XIV. completed their terrors, when his minister at the imperial court declared, that his master's resolution to extirpate the Dutch was taken on account of their heresy.

Unpopular
measures
ensue.

In the mean time the Dutch, attacked by the troops of Cologne, of France, of England, by the navies of the two last of these

Spirit of the
Dutch and
the Prince of
Orange.

* They are to be found in Ralph, vol. i. p. 213, &c. and 229.

Gains the
English.

powers, and deserted by Sweden, which even stipulated to fall upon the empire, if any of her members should advance to defend Holland, were taught how weak is industry when arms are refused, and that wealth may well tempt, but cannot repel an invader. Upon the virtue of a youth of twenty-two turned the fate of four millions of freemen. Charles offered him the sovereignty of a part of his country, if he would quit its defence; but, with a just elevation of spirit, he refused the offer. When told he should live to see his country undone, he answered, No, "I shall die in the last ditch." The spirit of his countrymen kept pace with his; they prepared, if all other resources should fail them, to transport two hundred thousand of their number, with their effects and their liberty, to a quarter of the globe the furthest from the seats of their former freedom. The virtue of the Prince caught the affections of the English; the sufferings of the Dutch, their commiseration; the inequality in the strength of the parties at war, provoked their generosity; and an alliance with France roused ancient, and inflamed present antipathies. One of the most remarkable spectacles that is to be found in the history of mankind, was at this time presented: Two of the bravest of nations aiming their daggers at each other's breasts; yet lamenting the wounds which they mutually gave. When the Dutch deputies were sent to beg peace from Charles, the people of England followed their coaches with tears, and the court was obliged to remove them to Hampton-court from the eyes of the public: A device which only increased the public pity. When the English ambassadors passed through Holland in their way to the French King, the Dutch received them with cries of "God save the English, and the Prince of Orange." Hence mutual ties between the nations, hence mutual aversion to those princes who endeavoured to keep them asunder. Even the valour of the Duke in naval engagements, which, in the former war, the English had honoured, they now covered with obloquy.

Spirit of the
parliament,
in the year
1672.

To that session of parliament, which met in the year 1672, immediately after these events, every Briton who now lives doth perhaps owe the whole liberty he enjoys. Charles opened the ses-

sion, by informing his parliament in high terms, that he would not be contradicted in his resolution of maintaining his grant of indulgence; and that, instead of diminishing, he intended to increase his army: A declaration which discovered, that he thought he had a right to make the laws depend upon his will, and to make his will effectual by an army, to whose establishment parliament had not consented. But the house of commons, with a true English spirit, remonstrated in an address, that the dispensing power he had asserted in his declaration, belonged not to his crown; and, when Charles gave an ambiguous answer, they insisted in a second address for one more explicit. In another, they pressed him to dismiss the popish officers of his army; and in a fourth, to disband his army itself, so soon as the peace was concluded. They prepared to attack his ministers. The famous test-act against popery was passed, which struck the staff of Lord High Treasurer from the hand of Lord Clifford, and that of Lord High Admiral from the hand of the King's brother. Charles declined a conflict with his parliament, relinquished his pretensions to a dispensing power, breaking with his own hands the seal affixed to the declaration of indulgence, in which it had been asserted, declared his own inclinations to give satisfaction his people, and exposed his new ministers to their vengeance.

BUT, to escape that vengeance, the cabal made the same sudden turn with their master. Shaftesbury saying aloud, "That the Prince, who forsook himself, deserved to be forsaken," put himself at the head of the opposition to the court, and urged the recall of all those unconstitutional measures which himself had advised, and Buckingham prepared to follow his example. Arlington, who had some time before been disobliged, when Clifford, by the influence of the Duke, was appointed treasurer, and who was married to a Dutch woman*, paid court privately to the Prince of Orange and the Dutch, and joined the popular party in parliament. The furious Clifford indignantly retired to the country. Lauderdale alone, with the impetuosity of his country's spirit, and his

The cabal
broken.

* Colman's Letters, and Temple's Memoirs, 404.

own, urged Charles, but in vain, to march the Scottish army into England; and when he could not prevail, joined in the national complaints against the Duke, hoping by that means to keep them off himself.

Peace.

THE parliament, in the mean time, expressing strongly their discontent at the continuance of the war, Charles soon after made a peace with the Dutch. The opposition of parliament to the war served him as an apology to the French for his desertion; but, in recompence, he offered his mediation for a peace between them and the Dutch *. During this mediation, both nations pressed him to be umpire between them, and acknowledged that the terms of peace were at his command, if he would prescribe them †. But he declined to take any side. The war continued four years. In the mean time, he left 6000 British troops in the French service, and allowed the Dutch to levy troops in Britain ‡. While the negotiations for peace were drawing to an end, there is great probability that he received large sums from France § on the one side, and from Holland and Spain § upon the other. Yet he obstructed the peace altogether; and, when it was concluded, he did all he could to get it broken, and, for that purpose sent the Duke of Monmouth with an army into Flanders, to oppose France. But the Dutch, either distrusting his friendship, or more probably desiring to draw him into a war with France †, and keep free of it themselves, declined to join him, and the war was ended.

Reflection.

IF we can suppose, that Charles II. took advantage of his brother's foibles in favour of arbitrary power and the Roman catholic religion, to enter into the private treaty in the year 1670,

* Sir William Temple's memoirs from 1672 to 1679, p. 378. † Ibid. p. 418. 428. 434. and his letters. ‡ Ibid. 377. and Gazette, April 9. 1688. § It is probable,

|| Vid. Lord Danby's letters. § It is probable, that he received money from Holland and Spain from two letters of Sir William Temple, dated Jan. 17. and 24. 1676. † Fagel once let this intention drop to Sir William Temple. Vid. his memoirs. Compare also the passage from Lord North's memoirs in North's examen, p. 474.

only in order to relieve his necessities at the expence of France; that he departed from that part of it which regarded the religion and parliament of England, as soon as he saw an opportunity, by the treaty of the year 1671, of animating France and Holland against each other; that he entered into the war with an intention to weaken Holland, to get justice done to his nephew the Prince of Orange*, and to withdraw from it† when he saw France and Holland fairly engaged, in order that England might in the mean

* The secret treaty of the year 1670 shews, that Charles attended to the interests of the Prince of Orange in the war that was projected. It appears from a passage in Lord North's Memoirs, to be found in North's Examen, p. 484. and 485. that, in entering into the second Dutch war, Charles had likewise a view to the interest of his nephew. The authority is high, not only on account of the integrity of Lord North, and of his elevated situation, which gave him access to know things better than others, but because his memoirs were never intended for publication. It is certain, that the massacre of the De Wits, and the elevation of the Prince of Orange, was owing to a belief entertained by the Dutch, that the injuries done to the honours of the Prince of Orange were the causes of Charles's repentment.

† There is a very remarkable paper in Sir William Temple's works, Vol. I. p. 83. which makes it not improbable, that Charles entered into the second Dutch war, with an intention to engage France and Holland, and then to withdraw England. It is a memorial presented in the year 1671 to the Lord Keeper Coventry. In this memorial, Sir William Temple examines three questions. 1st, Whether England should continue in inaction, and allow Holland to increase in her commerce and maritime power? 2dly, Whether she should engage France and Holland in a war, and keep herself free? And, lastly, Whether she should join with France to destroy Holland? He is equally against the first and the last project; but seems to favour the second, if it could be effectuated.

It may appear from the rest of Sir William Temple's works, that he was much an enemy to the second Dutch war. But the passions of men frequently confound an object with the circumstances which accompany it. Sir William Temple, like all lovers of their country, was provoked at the measures of the cabal in the first years of that war. Men also judge often of actions by their events. Sir William Temple might, in the year 1671, think it right to engage France and Holland in a war, and yet, in the year 1678, be discontented with the liberty which had been given to France, in the course of it, to aggrandize herself too much by land.

time run away with the trade of the world; that he withdrew as soon as these objects were attained; that he exposed his enemies, whom he had created his ministers, to the odium of an unpopular war, and of the unpopular measures which accompanied it; and afterwards complied with the voice of his people against that war and those measures, to expose those ministers, to save himself, and to get an excuse to France for retracting from the terms of his treaties; that he prolonged and obstructed the negotiations of peace*, and endeavoured to rekindle the war only with an intention that England might in the mean time secure the exclusive commerce she had gained; that he gave troops to both the powers at war, in or-

A very superficial critic in history may see from both parts of Sir William Temple's memoirs, that he was not let into many of the secrets of his master. In the course of his Dutch negotiation, Lord Arlington, Sir Gabriel Sylvius, and De Cros, were sent over at different times with powers which were concealed from him. Charles II. was the deepest dissembler that ever sat on the English throne. He had been ill used in his youth abroad, and, in his age, by many of his subjects at home. These things had given him a distrust of all human kind; and he was the more irresistible, because, by the natural ease of his manners, he gained the confidence of every one. The Dutchess of Portsmouth was the only person in his kingdom in whom he confided, and even her he sometimes duped, in order to dupe others. This makes an account of his reign the most difficult in the English history.

* The Prince of Orange scrupled not to tell Sir William Temple, that the prolongation of the war was owing to Charles. Temple's memoirs, p. 434. The words used by the Prince were, "That the King had the peace in his hands for these two years bypast, might have made it when he pleased, and upon such conditions as he should think fit, of justice and safety to the rest of his neighbours, as well as himself. That all men knew France was not in a condition to refuse whatever terms his Majesty resolved on, or to venture a war with England in conjunction with the rest of the allies: That the least shew of it, if at all credited in France, was enough to make the peace: That they had long represented all this in England by Mons. Van Beuninghen, and offered his Majesty to be the arbiter of it, and to fall into the terms he should prescribe; but not one word in answer; and all this received with such a coldness as never was, though other people thought we had reason to be a little more concerned: That this put him more upon thinking a separate peace (*that is from the rest of his allies*) necessary, than all the rest."

der to prevent the English from losing the martial spirit, while their country was enjoying all the blessings of peace; and that, when he could get the flames of war continued no longer, he took money from both sides, because he considered both as his enemies; his conduct would present one of the deepest trains of policy that is any where to be found.

BUT, if these were the intentions of Charles, like most schemes of deep policy, they turned against himself. Those ministers whom he meant to expose, threw the odium off themselves upon him. The Prince of Orange rejected the services offered. Charles could not assume the honour of a policy which irritated Holland and France against each other, without disappointing it. He durst not avow the secret permission he gave to levy troops, without alarming the jealousy of the nation, that he intended one day to recal them to be used against his people; nor confess his duping Holland and France by receiving money from both, without drawing personal shame upon himself, in return for political reputation. And all parties in England concurred in condemning the second Dutch war; the tories, because their party thought they were removed from power to make way for it; and the whigs, because Charles made the heads of their party the instruments of it at first, and intended, in the end, to sacrifice them to it.

Effects of
them.

ON the other hand, if we suppose that Charles II. was serious in intending to bury the protestant religion, the liberties of England, and the Dutch commonwealth, in one grave, he may be considered as the most criminal of all English Princes. And, if we impute his indecisive and desultory measures, after he withdrew from the war, either to levity, or to the influence of the sums he received from foreigners, his conduct will appear in a very mean light. But, if his motives were really as criminal and mean as they are generally supposed to have been, the consequences of them afford one of the many instances in the English history, in which good has arisen to the English nation from intended evil: For, from

the æra of that war, is to be dated that superiority in commerce and naval power which England then established upon the ruins of the French and Dutch commerce, and that suspicion of Charles and his brother, which rendered ineffectual all the future attempts of either against the liberties of their subjects.

Differences
between the
King and the
parliament for
five years.

ALTHOUGH Charles had, towards the end of the second Dutch war, recalled his unpopular measures, the sense of past danger remained with his people. The five subsequent years were therefore spent in a continual state of contention between the house of commons and their sovereign. The commons addressed him twice against the marriage of the Duke with the Princess of Modena, although it was already celebrated by proxy; and although, a few years before, when the fears of popery were not so great, they had with indifference seen a treaty carried on for his marriage with another popish Princess. They drew up votes and addresses against standing armies, against national grievances, against the King's ministers. Their complaints were repeatedly directed against Lauderdale. They examined Buckingham and Arlington at their bar, taking advantage of the ancient hatred of these Lords against each other; and this hatred broke out in mutual accusations. They prepared to impeach Danby. Every art of a popular assembly was employed to keep alive the cry of popery in the people. And supplies were refused almost as often as they were asked. The King, on the other hand, by a prorogation disappointed a *habeas corpus* bill, the great palladium of English liberty. He endeavoured to extinguish the sentiment of opposition to his power, by setting on foot a bill in the house of Lords, for imposing the oath of non-resistance on the members of both houses, and on all in public station. But that house of Lords which, in the first tide of the King's popularity, had, even, without a vote, imposed the same oath upon churchmen, and the office-bearers of boroughs, took seventeen days to debate upon the extension of it: An interval during which the nation believed that the fate of their own liberties, and of those of their posterity, were all the while in dependence. After the bill was carried through the house of Lords,

Charles found he could not venture it in the house of commons. When the commons pressed him to engage in a war against France, he desired them, first to advance the money necessary for carrying it on: And, when he mentioned the sum, an English house of commons, and an English monarch, haggled with each other, like two tradesmen in a bargain. Day after day, men's jealousies of Charles, and their hatred of the Duke, who was reputed to be severe, grew greater and greater, and both of these princes expected the exclusion, or something like it, before it was heard in parliament.

In vain Charles hoped, by giving his brother's daughter in marriage to the Prince of Orange, in the year 1677, to recover the popularity which he and his brother had lost. During the first Dutch war, De Wit paid the most dangerous court to the discontented party in England*. During the second†, the Prince of Orange formed a regular party in it, scarcely needing to court men, who, in the cause of both countries, threw their arms open to receive him. From the conclusion of the peace, until his marriage‡, he preserved the same connections, although he had made Charles hope, that he was to break them off. To the people, not to the nobles or the orders of the state, the Prince had owed his elevation||. Hence a similarity of sentiments and situation between his party in Holland, and the popular party in England. The interests of religion too, which at that time were more attended to than they are now, knit the individuals of the two countries together, by the strictest bands of private friendship. Many of the English officers, after the army was disbanded, and of the clergy, after the dissenting clergy were rejected, settled in Holland: These men formed themselves into political councils, and kept up correspondences with similar councils of their friends established in England: To the intrigues of this party, in some measure, were owing the late differences between Charles and his parliament. In the year 1674, before differences were come to any height between Charles and the house of commons,

The King hopes in vain to close divisions by the Prince of Orange's marriage.

* D'Estrades, 1665.
Sir William Temple.

† Lord Ossory's letter in Carte's Ormond. 447, and
‡ Sir William Temple. Lord Ossory's letter.

|| D'Avaux, vol. i. p. 1, & seq.

the Prince had declined a marriage with the Duke's daughter *, although it was offered. But now, when the breach was greatly widened, he pressed for the marriage, either to close the divisions of England, or to turn them to his own advantage. In the course of the transaction, some doubtful presages broke forth; for, when the Prince, who was then in England, got not the answer to his proposal so soon as he expected, he desired Sir William Temple to inform the King, "That they must thenceforth live as the greatest friends, or "the greatest foes;" and the Duke yielded to the marriage from complaisance to his brother, but exceedingly against his own inclinations.

A succession of hopes and fears, of confidence and distrust, of compliments and apologies, between the Prince and the two royal brothers, was the consequence of the marriage. But, as it is natural for the human mind to attach itself to whatever is opposite to the object of its dislike, that popularity in England which Charles and his brother lost, because they were connected with the French and popish interests, the Prince of Orange gained, because he was accounted the bulwark against both. With great ability he improved this advantage. From the neighbourhood of his residence to England, all flocked to pay their court to him; some in compliment to the King, others from a view to the future succession, and perhaps a few more daring spirits to anticipate it. The respect with which he received the King's party in public, he discovered to the popular party in private. After his marriage the secretaries of state had orders to correspond † officially with him. His situation, with regard to English affairs, gave him many opportunities, in other

* Sir William Temple. Lord Ossory's letter.

† There is in the paper-office a vast number of copies of official letters to him, and these discover many curious circumstances of the times.

The present establishment of the paper-office does great honour to his Majesty's reign, and to the memory of the late Mr. Grenville. During his administration, a commission was directed to three gentlemen of distinguished knowledge and industry, to put the state-papers of England, which formerly were a mass of confusion, into order. And these gentlemen are, with much fidelity, executing their duty to the public.

respects, to gain successively the King's ministers. He treated them with the equality, he corresponded with them with the simplicity of private friendship. By compliments to the good and the brave, he procured friends; and, as he had no title to give reprehensions, he drew no enemies upon himself *.

THE most desperate enemy is a friend provoked; Shaftesbury, who had joined with the King and the Duke to exalt the power of the crown, because it exalted his own; but who, when deserted by the King, had put himself at the head of the people, to gratify his revenge, to secure his safety, and to open a new field for his ambition; a man insinuating, imposing in private, eloquent, daring in public, full of resources in both; who had been bred up in the schools of civil commotion, in the long parliament, in Cromwell's revolutions, and in those which followed Cromwell's death, and who, from that education, knew well the power of popular rumours, at times when popular passions are in ferment, framed the fiction of the popish plot in the year 1678, in order to bury the Duke, and perhaps the King, under the weight of the national fear and hatred of popery †. Shaftesbury was stimulated too, by offences both given and received. For the King ‡ having said to him, "Shaftesbury, Thou art the greatest rogue in the kingdom;" he answered, bowing, "Of a subject, Sir." And the Duke having

Shaftesbury
contrives the
popish plot.

* King William's letters are the best written of the age in which he lived.

† It has been much doubted whether Shaftesbury contrived the popish plot, or if he only made use of it, after it broke out. Some papers I have seen convince me he contrived it, though the persons he made use of as informers ran beyond their instructions. The common objection to the supposition of his contriving the plot, is, the absurdity of its circumstances. When Shaftesbury himself was pressed with regard to that absurdity, he made an answer which shows equally the irregularity and the depth of his genius. An account of it is in North's examen, p. 95. A certain Lord of his confidence in parliament, "once asked him what he intended to do with the "plot, which was so full of nonsense as would scarce go down with *tantum non* "ideots; what then could he propose by pressing the belief of it upon men of com- "mon sense, and especially in parliament."—"It is no matter," said he, "the "more nonsensical the better; if we cannot bring them to swallow worse nonsense "than that, we shall never do any good with them."

‡ Mr. Walpole.

rated him in passionate terms for one of his speeches in parliament, "I am glad," said he, "your Royal Highness has not called me also papist and coward." The account of this plot, in which was involved the assassination of Charles and his brother, an invasion, the conflagration of the city, and a massacre of the protestants, was calculated, in its great lines, to gain the attention of the higher ranks of the nation, and, by the familiarity and detail of its circumstances, to catch the credulity of the meanest of the populace. By making the Duke one of the objects of the pretended assassination, it prevented the suspicion of its being directed against him; and, by accusing the Queen, whom the King did not love, it gave a chance for separating the interests of the brothers. The information, as soon as given, flew instantly abroad. Even the marvelousness of the story gave credit to what it was almost impossible to believe human fiction could have invented. Accident after accident arising in a manner unparalleled in history, concurred to maintain the delusion. Coleman's letters were seized, which discovered, that the Duke had been carrying on a correspondence with France, against the religion of his country and its interests. Danby's correspondence with France for money to the King was betrayed, which made Charles a sharer in his brother's disgrace; but above all, the murder of Godfrey, who, in his office of a magistrate, had made public the plot, caused almost every protestant to imagine, he felt the dagger in his breast. Shaftesbury knew too well the nature of the human mind, not to improve upon this last accident. He suggested to his faction, to bring the eye in aid of the imagination, in order to complete the terrors of the people. The dead body, ghastly and with the sword fixed in it, and lying on a bier, was exposed during two days in the public street. It was carried in procession through the city of London to the grave, as the remains of a martyr to the protestant religion, seventy-two clergymen walking before, near a thousand persons of condition behind, innumerable crowds in a long silent order, an expression of passion more dangerous than that of clamour and confusion, bringing up the rear. Void of all honour in politics, Shaftesbury coined rumors as they fitted his purpose, and had men of his party ready who could repeat, and men who could

write them, so as to make them circulate through every part of the kingdom*. Void of all feeling, he confirmed his inventions by public trials, and, without remorse, saw prisoners led to death for charges which himself had contrived; engaging thus even the passions of horror and amazement in the public, to make things credible, which, without these, could not have been believed. Success seemed to follow in a train. The crown-lawyers, the crown-judges, most of the King's servants, believed in the plot as firmly as the meanest of the people. The King's chief minister Lord Danby had been the first to give it credit, in order to present an object of prosecution to parliament in place of himself. The King's late ministers Buckingham, Lauderdale, and Shaftesbury were joined, in their zeal against it, by the popular Lords Essex, Halifax, Sunderland, and Russell; and the King, to avoid the imputation of popery, entered into the prosecution of a plot which he knew to be a fiction.

INFORMATION was no sooner given of the popish plot, than it was converted to the purpose of excluding the Duke of York from the throne: And never was a political engine more ably managed. Even before the popish plot broke out, the minds of the public were prepared by a number of pamphlets, which pointed out the right of the parliament to change the succession of the crown on account of popish principles. The first of these pamphlets was written by one whom Buckingham, Shaftesbury, and Lord Wharton had employed. The Duke reproached them with the injury: They acknowledged the pamphlet, but excused themselves by saying, that the person who wrote it had gone beyond his instructions. The terrors of the plot had made all the people in the town and the country provide themselves with arms†; and now, to preserve these arms by authority of law in the same hands, the popular party got a bill passed through both houses, which was contrived to weaken the King's power over the militia. To prevent the inter-

The exclusion of the Duke founded upon the popish plot.

Preparations for it.

* North's examen, 88. 100.

† Letter Duke of Newcastle to Secretary Jenkins, in the paper-office, June 8, 1683, and many other letters there.

position of the army, the commons petitioned the King to disband it; and supplied him with money for that purpose. To break the ministry, they impeached the prime minister Danby. To secure a superiority of numbers in the house of Lords, they procured the royal assent to a bill which excluded papists from sitting there. In order to flatter the ambition of the different parties who had views to the succession, and by that art to gain their concurrence in the promotion of the exclusion, it was resolved in the project of the bill to leave the name of the successor indeterminate*. And, as the first step to connect the popish plot with the exclusion, Lord Russell moved for a resolution of the house, "That the opinion which the papists have of the Duke's religion is the cause of the plot."

To disappoint them, the King dissolves his first parliament;

Some of these attempts succeeded, others did not. The King, exasperated in his age with a parliament which had been so loyal to him in his youth, dissolved it, after it had sat sixteen years: An imprudent measure, which threw a new election into the hands of the people, at a time when their passions were all on fire.

but sends his brother into exile.

CHARLES was sensible too late of his error: In order to repair it, he, before the new parliament met, urged his brother, and sent some of the bishops to urge him, to conform to the church of England; but in vain. He then privately prevailed with Lady Powis, to intreat the Duke, in the name of her husband, and of four other popish Lords, who had been committed to the Tower on account of the popish plot, to go abroad, in order to take the rage of the public off the four Lords: But the Duke refused to yield to her request: The King, at last, ordered him to go; and he obeyed with reluctance: He asked leave to take his daughter, the Princess Anne, with him; but was refused: He desired a declaration from his brother, that he had never been married to Monmouth's mother: It was granted. The Duke's exile was owing partly to the advice of Danby, who urged, that it would remove the imputation of the King's being governed by popish councils, but more to the persua-

* Passages from Lord North's memoirs in North's examen, p. 390.

AFTER THE RESTORATION.

47

sions of the Dutchess of Portsmouth, whom Shaftesbury flattered with the hopes of a parliamentary settlement of the crown upon her son the Duke of Richmond.

IN the mean time, a new figure started up to increase the national ferment, and to add the miseries of a father to those of a brother, in the mind of the King. His natural son, the Duke of Monmouth, young, exquisitely beautiful, brave, generous, affecting popularity, and tenderly beloved by his father, had been educated with one part of the flower of the English youth at Oxford, and served with another in the army: So that he had all the advantages of private friendships joined to those which attend upon royal extraction. His tutor, one Rofs, a Scotchman, either from love to his pupil, or to gain importance to himself, was the first person who inflamed his mind with high ambition, by making him believe, or persuading him to make others believe, that the King had been privately married to his mother. Rofs went further, for he advised Cosins, bishop of Durham, to write a certificate of the marriage, and to deposit it in a strong box in his own house; making use of this argument, that, if the Duke of York should be converted from popery, there would be no need of bringing the certificate to public view, and, if he should not, that all arts were justifiable to exclude a papist from the throne: Circumstances which Cosins immediately communicated to the King, but which that Prince disregarded, acquitting Monmouth, and imputing them only to the petulance of his tutor. Yet Rofs, after Cosins died, spread a report abroad, that he had left such a certificate behind him. Upon the death of the Duke of Albemarle, the King had abolished the office of Lord General of the army, deeming it too great for a subject. But, in the year 1674, at a time when it was apprehended the discontents of the nation might break forth into violence, the Duke of Monmouth, using the pretence, that the officers of the army scrupled to fire upon rioters, without the order of the General for their warrant, prevailed upon the King to revive the office, and bestow it upon him. Monmouth gave directions, that, in the form of his commission, he should be called *the King's son*, but that the usual

Pretensions of
the Duke of
Monmouth
set up.

addition to his name of the word *natural* should be omitted. The Duke of York, who had in vain opposed the preferment itself, having received information of this, sent orders to the officer who was to draw the commission, to do it in the usual form. The officer obeyed, and delivered the commission to Vernon, the Duke of Monmouth's secretary. But Vernon, by his master's order, erased the word *natural*. The Duke of York contrived to be with the King when the commission was presented, and complained of the alteration. The King, without making any answer, clipped the commission through the middle with a pair of scissors, and desired a new one might be brought him. This was the first instance of competition between the two Dukes, and of the towering schemes which Monmouth fostered in secret. After this, the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Danby buoyed Monmouth up in the favour of Charles, in order to counterbalance the influence of the Duke of York, which they found inconsistent with their own. The animosity between the uncle and the nephew was augmented by a suspicion which the Duke of York had expressed, that Monmouth was son to Robert Sidney, the most beautiful man of the age, who used to boast of his favours from Monmouth's mother, and whom the Duke imagined Monmouth resembled in his beauty *. When the bill for excluding papists from parliament was brought into the house of Lords, the Duke of York had, with tears in his eyes, beseeched to be excepted, and was saved only by two voices : But the Duke of Monmouth went out of the house during the vote. And he now declared himself openly for the exclusion. And his partisans, asserting his legitimacy, maintained every where that he was next heir to the crown.

Promising
appearances
of the exclu-
sion in the
second parli-
ament.

THE new house of commons, in the beginning of the year 1679, pressed forward to the exclusion in the footsteps of their predecessors, but with more force : For the church and dissenters, uniting their interests, had returned a new house of commons more zealous than the former. They voted, that the prospect of the Duke's succession to the crown was the cause of the popish plot,

* He was brother to the famous Henry and Algernon Sidneys,

and soon after, they passed a bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York, and sent it by Lord Ruffel to the Lords; and, in order to secure the people, by linking their interests with those of the house of commons, they contrived a variety of popular bills. In vain, to prevent the bill of exclusion from being brought into the house of commons, the King had offered to impose such limitations upon a popish successor, as would have left him little more than the title of royalty. The Duke in his exile complained of his brother's project more than of that of the house of commons; and the Prince of Orange remonstrated against it, either because he thought the monarchy would not recover its splendor in the person of his consort, if it was debased in her father's, or because he did not wish to see divisions terminated from which he might himself reap advantage*. In vain also the King had endeavoured to break the opposite party, by making their leaders, Sunderland, Essex, and Halifax, his ministers; by joining to them Hyde and Godolphin, who were cold friends to his brother; and by framing a new council, into which a still greater number of the popular party was brought, and at the head of which Shaftesbury was placed: Some of the new ministers advised Charles to the exclusion, and others to the banishment of the Duke. Lord Ruffel, even whilst a member of the new council, had carried up to the Lords the vote which was preparatory to the bill of exclusion. And Sunderland, Essex, and Halifax, with the Dutchess of Portsmouth, solicited Charles to give a public promise that he would never recall the Duke without the consent of his council. Many other things now promised success to the bill. To men in high tides of public passion, the dangers of posterity appear equal to their own. The hatred and fear of popery were naturally transferred upon a Prince who publicly professed it. The King, because a steady friend to few, was thought to have only a few attached to him. His brother, because he was thought to be an enemy to many, was known to have many foes. Danby had, indeed, upon the fall of the cabal,

* There are several letters in the paper-office from the Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins secretary of state, extremely anxious that the King should drop his scheme of limitations.

† Temple 337.

prevailed upon the church-party, who were disobliged by the declaration of indulgence, to resume their old station behind the throne; but the discovery of the popish plot broke the party; for, when they considered the avowed religion of the Duke, and that both Princes were married to Roman catholics, their loyalty became suspended in their fears for their religion. The Dutchess of Portsmouth, and the French interest, which was not small *, at a time when the two great factions in the state were the French and Dutch ones, and when the King's mistress and favourite was a French woman, divided likewise the King's party by their prosecution of Danby †: A measure in which that party concurred, because Danby rivalled the Dutchess of Portsmouth in her influence with the King, and was an enemy to France; and the new ministers joined in this prosecution, to weaken that Prince whom they had been called to serve. At the same time, the French interest gave no help to the Duke, because the Dutchess of Portsmouth was his enemy, and because the distractions of England, as they always do, gave transport to France. The informers of the plot, by accusing many members of both houses, deterred many more from opposing the will of the Duke's enemies, while they had the direction of witnesses who scattered death where they pleased. Shaftesbury threw the firebrands of dissention, which he had lighted up in the nation, into the royal family. For, to the Dutchess of Portsmouth for her son, and to the Duke of Monmouth for himself, he alternately held up the view of a visionary crown, in the exclusion of the Duke of York. A more real prospect opened itself to the adherents of the Prince of Orange, in confusions raised by others, but of which it was foreseen the profit would probably in the end redound to himself.

The Duke of Monmouth gets the command of the army against the rebellion in Scotland;

SHAFTESBURY called in the aid of war to that of party. He had long maintained a correspondence with the discontented party in Scotland. He first taught them to exclaim against the tyranny to which they had submitted under Lauderdale; then spread that cry

* North's examen, 529. Montague's letters to Danby.

† Sir William Temple.

through England; and pointing at the sufferings of the Scotch, as the forerunners of like distress to the English, raised pity, indignation, and terror in his countrymen. In the last parliament, he made a speech to rouse the Scotch to opposition; in which he said, "That popery was intended to precede slavery in England, and slavery had been the forerunner of popery in Scotland." And forty written copies of this speech were sent off to Edinburgh the very day it was spoken. It was like the sound of a trumpet to the Scotch. Eight thousand of them flew to arms: A band the more dangerous, because, as no people of condition were amongst them, greater fear was entertained of the lurking than of the open treason. But Charles took a generous resolution; he trusted to nature, and sent his son at the head of an army against a rebellion which was known to be fomented by those who promoted his pretensions to the crown. Shaftesbury then started an objection, that English troops could not be sent into Scotland, without infringing the treaties between the two nations. Several of the whig party declined the service, among whom was Lord Grey, for whom the command of the horse was intended, Lord Cavendish, and Lord Brandon: And the city petitioned the King against the expedition. Monmouth abused not the trust that was reposed in him. He conquered those rebels for the King, with whom he might have bargained for himself, treating them at the same time with a mercy which secured their affections ever after; and returned triumphantly to London, to obtain the exclusion of his uncle from the tenderness and gratitude of his father.

But the glories of Monmouth were short lived. The Duke of York, who had founded the Prince of Orange, and believed he had discovered his sentiments, wrote a letter to his brother, in which he called his attention to the consequences of Monmouth's schemes to both of them; urged him to dissolve the parliament, not to disband his army, to regulate the expences of his court, and to punish Monmouth; and assured him, that, instead of having reason to fear the Prince of Orange, he would find in that Prince his firmest friend. Charles upon this dissolved his parliament in May 1679; and, in

disappointed.

doing so, had the art, by pretending fear of a remonstrance which the house of commons * was preparing against himself and his ministers, to get Sunderland, Effex, and Halifax to concur in the measure. But Shaftesbury, disappointed and enraged, declared aloud, that he would have the heads of his late associates for advising the measure.

Accident which determines the fate of the two Dukes.

ELATED with this success, the Duke of York wrote pressing for leave to return home; but Charles refused it, and continued irresolute whether he should strip Monmouth of his power. But the fate of the two Dukes was soon after determined by one of those accidents which no wisdom can foresee, and on which the fates of empires often turn. The King fell suddenly sick at Windsor. Effex, Sunderland, and Halifax recollected the threats of Shaftesbury against them, for the dismissal of the last parliament, and dreaded that they might be put in execution, if Monmouth, the friend of Shaftesbury, should be placed upon the throne. Sunderland, who had formed a secret connection with the Prince of Orange, by means of his uncle Henry Sidney the King's envoy, saw that the interests of that Prince would be equally hurt by the success of the Duke of Monmouth, as by the return of the Duke of York. These men, with Hyde and Godolphin, consulted together. Each concealing his private motives, all reasoned upon the imprudence of leaving the apparent heir of the crown in a foreign country, where, in case of Charles's death, the person of a King of England might be seized by foreigners; and, in the end, they resolved that the Dutchess of Portsmouth should propose to the King to send for his brother. She readily agreed, conscious that this was not the time for the success of her views for her son. Charles was pleased with her project: The Duke hastened over; but, finding his brother out of danger when he saw him, offered instantly to return. The meeting affected the King, who found, that in a great kingdom he had but few friends. The weakness of his spirits added tenderness to his mind: He remembered the common misfortunes of their youth. The Duke of Monmouth, whilst he was hunting

* Sir William Temple.

in the park, heard, for the first time, of the return of the Duke. He hastened back to the palace, and in an unguarded transport reproached the King with concealing from him the invitation he had given. Charles was struck with the contrast between the submission of a brother whom he had injured by banishment, and the presumption of a son who had leagued himself with the enemies of the royal family. In a heat he commanded the Duke of Monmouth into that banishment from which he seemed so unwilling to relieve his uncle. Monmouth refused obedience in haughty terms, and withdrew. But, next day, the two Dukes having agreed, that, in order to prevent discord in the court and the nation, both should retire abroad, Monmouth made a submission to the King, and left the court. After this, Charles insisted publicly with the Duke of York to continue in England. But the Duke, in excuse, pleaded the faith plighted to Monmouth: Another circumstance which increased the respect of Charles for his brother. At last, it was privately resolved between them, that, after the Duke had remained a short time abroad, he should send a petition to the King* to ask leave to make his residence in Scotland, which should be complied with: A compromise suited to the uncertain state of parties at the time; because it neither removed the Duke too much out of sight, nor brought him too near it. Monmouth fixed his residence in Holland, where he professed his attachment to the Prince of Orange. The Duke of York returned to Brussels, and in a few months after came to England, and then moved his court into Scotland.

Exile of the Duke of Monmouth; and the Duke of York retires to Scotland.

AFTER this, Charles, during 18 months, avoided assembling a new parliament, and employed the intermediate space in securing a great party of the nation in defence of his brother and himself, in dismissing from the ministry his popular ministers, Essex, Halifax, and Shaftesbury, in dissolving his popular council, in recalling his brother to court, and in increasing his army by his brother's advice. Sunderland and Essex opposed, in vain, the last of these measures; and Essex's opposition produced an immediate breach between him

The King spends eighteen months in strengthening himself and his brother.

* This is confirmed, Gazette, No. 1449.

and his master*. Many things contributed to strengthen the King. His open declaration in favour of his brother determined the wavering. The danger of a civil war in a disputed succession alarmed the timid. The wise remarked the flagitious character of Shaftesbury, the irregular ambition of Monmouth, and the caution of the Prince of Orange. Some of the popular party, who deemed it lawful to punish kings in their persons, thought it unwise to break the line of their succession; because, in the breaches of that line, a barrier might be opened to the ambition of every popular subject. In proportion as the belief of the popish plot wore off, men's fear of danger from a popish Prince grew more faint. Charles resorted in his difficulties to that loyal party which he had neglected in his prosperity; and they, overlooking what was past, faithful and submissive, flocked again to uphold the standard of the crown. The close union of the popular and dissenting parties roused the church by her own interest, and her ancient antipathies. But, above all, the late rebellion in Scotland had given the alarm to every friend of the constitution in the church or the state. For the Scotch, though instigated, not conducted by Shaftesbury, instead of making the exclusion of the Duke the object of their insurrection, had adopted the solemn league and covenant, and the abolition of prelacy, as the principle of their union. Men recollected, that a party in Scotland, of which this appeared to have been the counter-part in its movements, had, in concert with the discontented party in England, and under pretence of zeal against popery, begun those distractions which ended in the ruin of the monarchy and the church.

Arts of the
popular party
during this
interval.

THE art of Charles during this interval was counteracted by the arts of his opponents. Monmouth, who was the idol of the people, partly upon his own account, but more upon account of the hatred they bore his uncle, returned from beyond seas without leave, soon

* There is in the paper-office a very spirited letter from Lord Essex to the King, 21st July 1679, against increasing the army; and another from Sunderland to Essex upon the same subject, in which he says, he will apply to the Dutchess of Portsmouth to dissuade the King from the measure.

after the return of the Duke of York to court; was received by the people with those triumphs which were no longer bestowed upon the King; made a progress through a great part of the kingdom, as if he had been a candidate for future sovereignty; and was treated where-ever he went, as if he was already possessed of it. He was met at Taunton, a place whose honours were ever ominous to him, by near thirty thousand persons, mostly on horseback. In order to keep up the spirits of the people during the interruption of parliament, and to shew them, that the popular party, after drawing the sword, had thrown away the scabbard, Shaftesbury, at the head of a band of nobility and gentry, presented the Duke of York as a popish recusant, at the bar of the King's bench; and a project was formed to impeach him. Seventeen peers in a body presented a petition to the King to call a parliament. Addresses followed for the same purpose, from a great number of counties, boroughs, and different bodies of men. These Charles counteracted, by procuring addresses from his party, which expressed their abhorrence of the proceedings of the party which opposed him. Hence the whole nation came to be divided by the invidious names of petitioners and abhorers, of whigs and tories: For, when both sides made their appeal to the people, that flame, the appearance of which had been hitherto confined chiefly to the city and the parliament, blazed in every corner of the kingdom. And the old parties of court and country, took their sides every where, exactly as they had done in the late reign.

ALARMED with the appearance of approaching commotion, the Duke, to bar an impeachment, asked a pardon from his brother. Essex opposed it in council, saying, "If he was the Duke's counsel-
"lor, he would advise it; but, as the King's, he must oppose it *." Charles, from regard to the Duke's dignity and his own, refused the pardon that was asked. But, the very day before the parliament met, he once more sent his brother into exile: The place fixed for his residence was Scotland. The measure was resolved upon in

The King
alarmed, sends
his brother
into a third
exile before
the 3d parlia-
ment meets.

* The notes of the debate upon this subject in council, in Lord Anglesey's hand, are among the Clarendon papers.

council, against the opinions of the other counsellors, by the advice of Sunderland, Godolphin, Essex, and Halifax*. But it was owing chiefly to the secret persuasions of the Dutchess of Portsmouth, impelled by fears for her lover, dislike of the Duke, and fondness for her son.

The commons in the third parliament proceed directly to the exclusion. The King under great difficulties.

ALMOST as soon as the new house of commons met, they passed the bill of exclusion, and sent it by Lord Russel to the Lords. The storm now thickened upon Charles. The Prince of Orange, who had hitherto lain by, to take advantage of disturbances raised by others, or had only secretly fomented them, gave public countenance to the bill of exclusion. For Fagell, the pensionary of Holland, a man known to be under his direction, sent a memorial to Charles in the name of the Dutch, which pressed him in terms almost menacing to consent to the exclusion. Sidney, the King's envoy, was the person who transmitted it, in connivance with his uncle Lord Sunderland: And soon after Sir Gabriel Sylvius, one of the Prince's friends, who had passed through Holland in his return from a German embassy, told every where in England, that the Prince avowed the memorial†. The Spanish minister likewise urged the King in a memorial to the exclusion, though in terms more decent. And both memorials were calculated to inflame the nation by connecting the interest of France with that of the Duke of York, and the interests of the exclusion, with the safety of England, and of Europe, against France. The Dutchess of Portsmouth, who, amidst such mighty contenders, had given up her pretensions for her son, but who had lately formed the most intimate connections with the whig party by means of Lord Howard, and who had been offered an hundred thousand pounds by that party, if she would gain the King to their side, and had been threatened to be put into the list of grievances, if she would not, threw herself at his feet, shed a flood of tears, and conjured him, by his own safety, to yield to that house of parliament which had brought destruction upon his father for opposing its desires. Essex his late, and Sunderland and Godolphin, two of his present

* D'Avaux.

† Sir William Temple, 350.

ministers urged on the exclusion, the first from that inclination to degrade monarchy, which he had always carried about with him, even when he was a servant of the crown; the next to fulfil his secret engagements with the Prince of Orange; and the last to indulge his secret wishes for the interests of the same Prince. Halifax indeed opposed the exclusion; but, immediately after, he proposed, that the Duke should remain in banishment during the King's life: A conduct suited to the middle course which he was accustomed to steer, and which got him the appellation of *the trimmer*.

BUT Charles continued resolute against the exclusion. Many things contributed to his firmness; he had publicly disclaimed his marriage with Monmouth's mother; but many of the popular party, by attacking his veracity in public, linked his honour and his brother's interest together. The same party had proposed in parliament a general association of the nation in defence of the protestant religion, and against the Duke of York's succession: A project which brought to his mind the consequences of the league in France, and of the solemn league and covenant in Scotland and England. Lord Essex had proposed, in the house of lords, that some cautionary towns should be put into the hands of parliament during Charles's life, to secure the exclusion of his brother after his death. Some had moved for various bills, to curb the King's power, and others to punish his ministers. These things persuaded him, that, though his brother was attacked, himself was aimed at, and that the ruin of the one would be only a prelude to that of the other. The union between the dissenting interest, the popular interest, and the city, reminded him of his father's fate. Even the *habeas corpus* act which he had passed, and which a Prince, who knew the rights of mankind and his own security better, would have considered as a means of safety to himself as well as to his subjects, still filled his mind with anxiety and trouble. It had been promoted by Shaftesbury, it had been obtained during the ministry of Essex, and Charles imagined it was intended to encourage revolts, by obliging him to restrain the persons of his subjects, and to render him unpopular, by obliging him to keep up a standing force, for his own safety, against enemies

But rejects
them.
Causes of his
firmness.

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Exclusion disappointed.

WHEN the strength of the two parties, which had been forming during the interruption of parliament, was marshalled, it was found, that, though the popular interest prevailed in the house of commons, the King's was superior among the lords, who, in most of the late conflicts, had, as usual, supported the crown against the house of commons. The lords, by a majority of thirty, rejected the bill.

BUT the commons disgraced the spirit with which they had conducted the exclusion, by getting the blood of the old and innocent Lord Stafford shed for the popish plot, partly to wreak their vengeance for their disappointment, but more to strike terror into those who should for the future oppose them. The hardest part of his fate was to fall unprotected by his sovereign, and a victim to his sovereign's mistress, both of whom knew that he was guiltless. The Dutchess of Portsmouth, in the rage of her disappointment because the exclusion had not succeeded, attended the trial, dealing sweetmeats and smiles amongst his prosecutors. Many measures of the house of commons and of the city followed, which discovered not only their discontents, but their intentions to controul government, and embark the rest of the nation in their cause.

The King, upon a scheme of making the Prince of Orange regent, summons a parliament.

IN order to prevent this junction of interests, Charles dissolved the parliament, and soon after summoned a new one to meet at Oxford; a place as remarkable for its loyalty, as the city of London, from its wealth, and love of liberty, and even of licentiousness, had ever since the conquest been remarkable for opposition to royal power. But the change of place could not change the humours of men. The innovation even raised new objects of passion: For the King's aversion to his capital was construed into an aversion to his people: And the Whig party spread abroad, that they were not safe to assemble in a place so remote from the great seat of the protestant interest, and where they

might be massacred, even by the soldiers of that religion in the King's guards. In order to convey this last insinuation more strongly through the nation, sixteen Peers petitioned the King against the place of assembly; the rest of the popular party, either pretending fears, or really feeling them, came to Oxford, with great numbers, not of servants, but of friends and armed braves, in their trains. Hence a panic struck all around the King, and the King himself; and he entered a town occupied by gowmsmen, attended with an unusual number of guards. Shaftesbury alone, who had raised all these mischiefs, came to Oxford in a borrowed coach, with two footmen belonging to another on the back of it. Charles, in calling this parliament, had a prospect of getting the government, upon his decease, settled in the Princess of Orange as Regent during her father's life. He had lately communicated the scheme to the Prince of Orange; but the Prince slighted it, perhaps because it took no notice of himself*. It was now proposed by Sir John Ernly, chancellor of the exchequer, and supported by others of the King's servants; but nothing would satisfy the commons except an exclusion. Charles, therefore, dissolved the parliament a few days after it was assembled, published an appeal to the people against the proceedings of the late parliament, and dismissed Sunderland from his service. This was the fourth parliament which, in the course of two years, he had in anger dissolved.

The Prince and parliament disapprove it, and the parliament is dissolved.

SUCH was the state of things in England, at the period when the following Memoirs begin.

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4

P A R T I.

B O O K I.

Dispositions of the People upon the Dissolution of the Parliament.—Prosecutions.—The Duke's Administration in Scotland.—Visit of the Prince of Orange.—Secret Treaty with France.—Intrigue of the Duke's Return from Scotland.—The Duke's Situation.—Monmouth's Progress through the Western Counties.—The King's Invasion of the Charters.—Conspiracy.—Characters of the Conspirators, and their Objects.—Measures concerted.—Inferior Conspiracy for Assassination.—Disappointed by an Accident.—Shaftesbury's Retreat and Flight.—Conspiracy delayed.—Renewed.—Discovered.—Death of Lord Essex.—Lord Russell's Trial.—His parting with his Family and Lord Cavendish.—Other Anecdotes of his last Hours.—Sidney's Trial.—Anecdotes of his last Hours.—Other Trials and Punishments.—The King's Fluctuation about Monmouth.—Great Power of the King and Duke.—Project for a Popish Army in Ireland.—Scotland modelled.—Intrigues of Sunderland against the Duke.—The King's Death.

INTEND to give a relation of the affairs of Great Britain and Ireland, from the time when Charles the Second, by ceasing to govern by parliaments, made the breach between him and the friends of liberty irreparable, until the sea-battle of La Hogue, which, by defeating James's hopes of recovering his crown, determined the success of the Revolution; a period, during which the laws were laid almost in ruins, in consequence of those very efforts which were made to preserve them; yet recovered all their honours, and established a system of freedom,

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1681.

which, after the struggles of six hundred years, was not rendered complete, until that great æra of British liberty.

THIS period is full of events great in themselves, and of all others the most interesting to Britons. It exhibits the insidious attempts of one Prince to destroy liberty, with the desperate boldness of the meanest of his subjects to take vengeance upon him for it, and the more generous struggles of a few of the greatest of them punished by an application of those laws which they meant to vindicate; the violent attempts of another against the rights of his people defeated by his dethronement in the midst of his prosperity; and the establishment of a third Prince, who, though shaken by factions, and betrayed by false friendships, yet still generously protected that liberty which he had bestowed. Whatever can touch the heart, or rouse the spirit, is to be found in this period. The tender death of Lord Russel, the heroic one of Sidney; the favourite son of one King sent to the block by his successor, and human nature disgraced in the outrageous punishment of his followers; a great monarch seeking refuge from the ancient enemies of his kingdom; a nephew fighting against his uncle, two sons-in-law against their father, and two Kings contending in a disputed kingdom, as upon a public theatre, for pre-eminence; faction in England and Scotland, rebellion in Scotland and Ireland, and invasion impending upon all the three kingdoms; distractions in the Royal family, divisions among the great, terrors among the people; France enjoying and insulting the misfortunes she created, but sharing them in the end; and a gallant nation in continual agitations, not the symptoms of weakness, but of vigour, keeping its course straight forward to liberty and glory.

Temper of men upon the dissolution of the parliament.

THE dissolution of Charles the Second's last parliament, in April of the year 1681, together with the general belief that he was never to summon another, produced various sentiments in the nation. The spirits of the Tories were raised, and those of the Whigs depressed; the former in proportion to their late fears, and the latter to their late hopes; For, from the vehemence of temper which men acquire by union, and still more by opposition in politics, the affection for the public was become a private passion in the minds of both parties. But the Tories exceeded the Whigs in

the expression of their sentiments upon this event; because the triumphs of victory are more open than the complaints of sorrow; and because men attach themselves more strongly to a cause for which they have suffered, than to one by which they are only to gain. In return to Charles's appeal to his people, addresses were sent from every part of the kingdom*, testifying disapprobation of the proceedings of the late parliaments, and even treating parliaments themselves with irreverence. These addresses were not opposed by the Whigs, either from the sudden dejection under which they laboured, or from the fullness of disappointment and revenge; or because they knew that addresses are, in Britain, generally the effects of party and example, but seldom the voice of the nation, or of reason†. Men of moderate sentiments were displeased with both parties; with the Whigs, because, in their zeal for liberty, they had refused the King's offer of limitations upon a popish successor; and with the Tories, because, in the excess of their loyalty, they rejoiced in the King's resolution to assemble parliaments no longer.

THE first effects of the present calm appeared in prosecutions against those who had lately given disturbance to the King; engines of vengeance which always throw a greater gloom upon the minds of the subjects, when directed by the Sovereign, than when promoted by the passions of the people, because they are deemed the common attendants of tyranny, and because it appears more terrible to depend upon the will of one than upon that of many. Shaftesbury was sent to the Tower, upon a charge of having instigated insurrections. Colledge, a London joiner, Rouse, another mechanic, and several others, were seized, as persons who had been prevailed upon by these instigations; and Lord Howard, upon an accusation of having written a libel against the King. Shaftesbury's spirits deserted him in the solitude of a prison. He applied to Charles for leave to retire‡ to America for ever; and, if this were granted, offered to disclose what he knew. But, when a pardon was offered to the mechanics, upon a condition that they would swear against their leader, they rejected it with disdain. Most of the witnesses made use of by the

* Gazettes.

† Young Cromwell, when he was drinking, used to sit upon a chest which contained the addresses of 1,600,000 people, and to say, he sat now upon the lives and fortunes of all the people of England.

‡ Sir John Reresby, 124.

court against the prisoners, were the same men whom their party had formerly employed against the court in the popish plot: A retaliation which threw equal disgrace upon both parties. The juries of London, who were of the popular party, refused to find bills against Colledge, Rouse, Howard, Shaftesbury, or others of their party. But, under the pretence that Colledge's treason was committed at Oxford, he was brought to a second trial before a jury in that city; because it was known, that the inhabitants were more in the interests of the court. The Oxford jury condemned him to die for the same crime, and upon the same evidence which the London jury disregarded against Shaftesbury. And the exulting shouts of the people at Oxford, even in court, for the condemnation of the one prisoner, were re-echoed from London * for the acquittal of the other. The heads of Colledge's defences, which he had in writing in his pocket, were taken from him as he went to his trial, under pretence that they contained seditious matter, were perused by the counsel against him, and handed to the bench. The only apology made for these things was, that an example of the same kind had been exhibited in the case of a prisoner tried for the popish plot: An excuse which pointed out the cruel injustice of party on both sides. Shaftesbury brought a prosecution against Graham the solicitor of the treasury and others, for suborning witnesses to take away his life. The judges declared from the bench †, that the prisoners could not expect justice from a London jury, and directed the trial to be brought in another county: Shaftesbury, from the bar, answered, That justice was not to be found against the court out of London, and withdrew his prosecution: So that the integrity of the capital was given up by the one party, and of the country by the other. The crown commenced a prosecution for high treason against Wilmore, who had been foreman of the London jury which acquitted Colledge; and, when the prospect of success in that prosecution failed, a new one for a trifling misdemeanor was directed against him, which ended in a fine of 10,000 pounds. This sentence was published in the Gazette ‡, as if government had gloried in making private injustice the instrument of public vengeance. Captain Wilkinson,

* A letter in the paper office from Sir Leoline Jenkins to the Prince of Orange, of date 25th November 1681, says, "The acclamations in court for Shaftesbury's acquittal lasted an hour."

† Gazette, No. 1721.

‡ Ibid. 1723.

an old republican officer, then a prisoner for debt in the Fleet, was pressed by Charles himself to inform against his friend and benefactor Lord Shaftesbury: But he refused; reflecting, by the dignity of his conduct, upon the want of it in the King. Before the last parliament was dissolved, Fitzharris, a man of family in Ireland, had communicated to one Everard, a libel, which he was writing against the royal family: Everard, betraying his friend, revealed the secret to Sir William Waller; this gentleman, forgetting his rank, placed himself behind a hanging, to hear it read: Fitzharris, when prosecuted by the crown at common law for the libel, informed the popular leaders, that the King had employed him to write and disperse it among the popular party, and then to fix the crime of both upon them. The house of commons, in order to convert this intelligence into evidence, and to save Fitzharris from the prosecution at common law, had impeached him before the house of Lords: But the Lords, scorning to make themselves the tools of party, refused to receive the impeachment. When Fitzharris, upon the dissolution of the parliament, found himself at the King's mercy, he turned against his former friends, and gave information, that the popular party had employed him to forge his former story, in order to blacken the King. Fitzharris however, having been executed, the court printed a declaration made by him the night before he died, in order to support his odious imputation against the whigs. That party, on the other hand, in order to fix it upon their opponents, printed an account of his declarations during his imprisonment. A clergyman of the church of England attested the one publication; the city-magistrates, Bethel, Cornish, Clayton, and Treby, the other. Even in the hour of his execution, both parties contended for his last words in their favour. And thus the intended supporters of religion, of public peace, and of justice, were brought forward alike, in the most awful scenes, so serve as the instruments of party and defamation. The death of this miscreant was attended by that of the most innocent of men, Oliver Plunket, titular popish primate of Ireland, whom Charles, in order to carry on the affectation of his belief of the popish plot, had permitted, even after the dissolution of the parliament, to be tried for a pretended plot of the same kind in Ireland. Yet, in this execution, the whigs neither felt as they ought to have done, for the innocence of Plunket, nor the tories, for the guilt of the King. Amidst this universal corruption of manners, the English nation was, for the first

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1681.

The Duke's
administra-
tion in Scot-
land.

time, taught, that the abuse of laws may be worse than the want of them. But those of deeper reflection perceived, that an entire revolution of government alone could restore the political morals of the people.*

THE accounts which were brought from Scotland of the Duke of York's administration suggested similar reflections. He had brought into parliament the scheme of an oath which all in public station should be required to swear. In the terms of this oath, they were to maintain the supremacy of the King † in church matters, and the doctrine of passive obedience, and to declare their resolution to make no alteration in the church or the state. Mr. Fletcher of Salton, after long opposing the bill, with all the fire of ancient eloquence, and of his own spirit, made a motion, which the court-party could not in decency oppose, That the security of the protestant religion should be made a part of the test. The drawing of the clause was committed to Lord Stair, President of the court of Session, in compliment to his office; a man, who, upon the Duke's arrival in Scotland, had warned him, in a public harangue, to beware of attempting to weaken the protestant religion ‡. Lord Stair, in the draught of the clause, slyly expressed the protestant religion to be that which was contained in an old Scottish confession of faith §, which not only was adverse to prelacy, but admitted the lawfulness of resistance. The clause passed without attention, from the implicit confidence of all in the abilities of the person who drew it. Thus modelled, the test was a bundle of inconsistencies; for it inferred an obligation, upon those who took it, to conform to any religion the King pleased, and yet to adhere to the presbyterian religion; to oppose prelacy, and yet to maintain the present constitution of the church, which was prelacy; and to renounce, and yet affirm the doctrine of non-resistance. With a view to save the Duke from that part of the test which provided for the security of the protestant religion, it was proposed, while the bill was under debate, that the princes of the royal family should not be obliged to take the test. Lord Belhaven having said, in his speech, that the chief use of the test was to bind a popish successor, was instantly sent prisoner ¶ to the castle by the parliament; and the Lord Advocate declared, that he

* Ralph, with the authorities which he quotes.

† Act 1. parliament 1669.

‡ Lord Stair's apology, a few copies of it were printed.
off the year 1560.

§ The Confession

§ Gazette 5th April 1681.

would impeach him for the words. Not intimidated by this commitment, or these threats, the Earl of Argyle avowed the same sentiments with Belhaven; and his speech was believed to have sunk the deeper into the mind of the Duke, because he did not permit any disapprobation of it to be expressed at the time. Soon after, the Duke removed Lord Stair from his seat of judgment, and directed prosecutions against him, on penal laws*, in the court of justiciary, the privy-council, and the parliament; and forced him for safety to fly from his country. Fletcher was obliged to fly likewise. In the mean time, the Duke, having heard that Argyle made scruples about the test, called upon him to take it publicly in council. The Earl added to his oath this explanation, "That he took the test, so far as it was consistent with itself; and that he meant not to preclude himself, in a lawful way, from endeavouring to make alterations in church and state, so far as they were consistent with his religion and loyalty." This explanation passed unobserved. The Duke, with a smiling countenance, desired Argyle to take his seat at the council board, sat by him himself, and often, in the course of business, whispered to him in secret. The council, the same day, took under deliberation, a general explanation, which all might be at liberty to make part of the test; a deliberation which shewed how excuseable were the scruples of Argyle. And soon after, the King, by a proclamation, gave a liberty to all his subjects to take the oath with that explanation†. Nevertheless, Argyle, a few days after he had taken the test, was removed from the council-board, committed to the castle of Edinburgh, and charged with high treason for the words of his explanation. He wrote instantly to the Duke, offering satisfaction: The suit was refused: A jury of eleven peers, and four gentlemen, of which the Marquis of Montrose, grandson to the great Montrose, was chancellor, unanimously found him guilty. Amidst the general sorrows for Argyle, men were indignant, to see the noblest families of the nation submit to become the meanest instruments of violence against one of their own number. The Duke stopped judgment upon the verdict, until he should receive directions from court: Charles ordered judgment to pass, but execution to be respited till further orders. And, in the mean time, Argyle made his escape, by changing cloaths with his sister. Sentence of death and of

* Lord Stair's apology.
upon 15th November, before Argyle was condemned.

† Gazette 21st November 1681. This was

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1681.

List of the
Prince of
Orange.
July.

forfeiture was pronounced against him in his absence. The apology which the King and Duke made * for these severities, was, that they were only intended to force the Earl to surrender some jurisdictions of his family, which were incompatible with those of the King; An apology which shews how little true elevation of mind is required to form the project of absolute power. Terrified by the fate of Argyle, the rest of the great families consented to an act of parliament †, which laid all their jurisdictions at the foot of the throne ‡. But the Duke procured, from the Scots parliament, an act more important to himself: For it was declared to be high treason to maintain the lawfulness of excluding him from the succession. This act put an end to the hopes of the exclusionists in England; because it shewed them, that a civil war must be entailed upon the two kingdoms, if the Duke should be settled upon the throne of the one, and excluded from that of the other. Fletcher, Stair, Argyle, and many others who had opposed the Duke, took refuge in Holland, and filled the Prince of Orange's court with complaints of their country's wrongs and their own.

THE news of Argyle's punishment, when carried to England, struck all the exclusionists with anxieties for their future fates. As Argyle had been eminent for his loyalty, and his sufferings in the cause of it, even many of the royalists perceived with pain §, that no past services would be received as atonements for the want of the most implicit obedience to the Duke's will. His administration in Scotland against non-conformists, and against those who were accused of accession to the late conspiracy, was a continuation of the rigors of Lauderdale, who, by the fury of his temper, had brought a great part of his countrymen to such a state of mind, that it was become impossible to govern them, either by mercy or severity. The great latitude which the laws of Scotland gave to those who were employed against the enemies of government, together with the extreme animosity of the tories against the whigs, all of whom they regarded as enthusiasts, assassins, and rebels, threw imputations of cruelty upon the Duke, which perhaps should have been confined to those to

* Sprat.

† Act 18. 1681.

‡ A very different method was taken in the

late reign to put an end to these jurisdictions. Vid. History of feudal property, cap. History of jurisdictions.

§ Sprat, who wrote under the eyes of both the royal brothers, says, in pag. 162. That Charles complained that there had been a defection of the royalists of late.

whom the execution of the laws was committed. It was even reported, that he attended with curiosity the torture of state-prisoners, and beheld their agonies with indifference. And these reports, though probably false*, raised a general horror, even from the chance of their being true.

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While such was the state and the temper of parties, the Prince of Orange proposed to pay a visit in England. His intention, as the King and Duke believed, was to survey the real strength of the popular party, in order to turn it to his own advantage. But he told his countrymen, that the King had invited him over †, and that he went in order to bring England into an alliance against France. The Duke advised his brother to decline the visit; and the King gave it little encouragement. But the Prince was determined. The apology he made for Fagell's memorial was, that the Dutch and himself thought an act of exclusion would quiet the nation in the mean time, but could not take effect in the end. He pressed Charles in vain to a French war, and to summon a new parliament. He made also some attempts to mediate between that Prince and the popular party ‡, declaring against all limitations upon a popish successor, but, under the pretence of representing the demands of that party, insinuating that the militia should be committed to parliament. In the course of the conversation, the prince having observed to Charles, that the popular party was the most numerous: "That is," answered Charles, "because you speak with none else." But Charles marked still more strongly his suspicions of the Prince after he was gone. "I wonder," said he, "why the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Monmouth are so fond of each other, when they both aim at the same mistress!" The Prince, perceiving he could not succeed with the King, paid court to the popular party. He visited Lord Russel. He dined with the city, although Charles desired he would not, and although Halifax and Hyde advised him against it. And Charles and he parted in ten days with equal discontent ¶.

Visit of the
Prince of
Orange.
July.

SOME time before this visit, the French King had seized the principality of Orange. The Prince understood from what had passed whilst

* Wuddrow gained credit to the story of the Duke's attending tortures, by appealing to the record of the privy-council in the case of one Sprewell. I have examined the record, but can find no reason for Wuddrow's imputation. † D'Avaux. ‡ Lord Guildford's memorandum in North's examen, page 133. and 473. ¶ Gazette, July 25. Aug. 8.

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Charles's neglect of the Prince's interest.

he was in England, that Charles was to interest himself in the recovery of it. But when the Dutch ambassador at Paris desired Lord Preston, the English ambassador, to concur with him in his application in favour of the Prince, Preston answered, he had no instructions; and, when the Dutch applied in England for the King's concurrence, they got no better answer: Inattentions which added to the Prince's former displeasure*.

Secret treaty with France.

If the Prince of Orange had known the secret measures which Charles had lately taken with France, these marks of coldness could not have surprised him. The Duke of York, when absent from his brother, was in the habit of writing him long letters, which contained projects of government methodically digested. He had lately, from Scotland, advised and prevailed upon Charles to secure friends by the distribution of peerages †, to retrench the expences of his court, and to take measures for withdrawing the garrison from Tangier, with the double view of saving money, and increasing the army by the addition of the garrison. But, above all, James, making use of his own connections with the French King, had advised his brother to a secret money-treaty with that monarch, and dispatched Colonel Churchill to London to satisfy him, that it might be accomplished. Transactions of this kind had been begun by Clarendon ‡, soon after the restoration, revived by Arlington and Clifford in the year 1670, continued by the cabal in the year 1671, attempted by Coleman from the year 1674, until the year 1676, recommended by Charles to Sir William Temple in the year 1678 §, and adopted, soon after, by Lord Danby ¶. Charles was pressed for money when his brother's counsel was given; and he never was sensible of the most important of all truths to a British monarch, That the interests of the people and of the King are inseparable †. He therefore assented; and Lord Churchill was sent secretly to Paris to make the proposal. The French King agreed: The terms of the treaty were, that Charles should detach himself from his alliance with Spain, and receive two millions of livres a year from Louis, to re-

* The correspondence betwixt Lord Sunderland and Lord Preston, which contains the detail of this affair, is in the paper-office.

† There were 5 patents of peerages, granted in the 1682. Vide the gazettes of that year.

‡ Vide the Clarendon papers soon to be published, and D'Estrade's negotiations about the flag.

§ Temple 461.

¶ Danby's letters. † The words of his present Majesty at opening the present session of Parliament ought never to be forgot, "I have, I can have, no interest separate from that of my people."

lieve his necessities; and that that monarch should engage not to attack the Low Countries*. But this treaty, in one respect, proceeded upon the plan of the secret treaty of the year 1670: For one of the conditions was, that Charles should render himself independent of his parliaments†. A condition of all others the most flattering to an English reader, because it discovers the consciousness of France how much her own grandeur depends upon the fall of English liberty.

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Soon after the Prince of Orange's departure, the Duke of York was suddenly called to London by his brother. All those who had either hopes or fears from the exiled Prince then believed, that this measure was taken for the purpose of putting the direction of the affairs of England into his hands. But the actions of Kings do not always spring from public motives. Sunderland, before the dissolution of the parliament, had been removed from the office of Secretary of State, not from any suspicion of his connections with the Prince of Orange, but because he had, against the express command of the King, supported the bill of exclusion in the house of Lords. During his disgrace, he paid court to the Dutchess of Portsmouth, by whom he knew Charles was almost intirely guided in a country in which he believed ‡ he had scarcely a friend. He satisfied her, how visionary were the hopes of the crown for her son, with which she had been flattered by Shaftesbury; and suggested that she should apply to the King for a great settlement for her son upon the hereditary revenue. But, as no grant upon that revenue could be effectual against the heir of the crown without his consent, he advised her to get the Duke recalled, that his consent might be obtained. And he promised, that, if he was himself brought again into power, he would give all the aid to the settlement which a minister

Intrigue of
the Duke's
return from
Scotland.

* Mr. Hume has obliged the public with an authentic copy, on the part of France, of this treaty, from the Depot des affaires etrangeres at Versailles, from which it appears, that Louis understood he had avoided engaging himself to any thing. I have seen papers which shew, that Charles and the Duke of York understood that Louis was engaged not to attack the Low Countries. As the treaty was only verbal, it is very possible the two courts might interpret the same words different ways, for their own advantage. † The words are: A se degager peu a peu de l'alliance avec l'Espagne, et a se mettre en etat de ne point etre contraint par son parlement, de faire quelque chose d'oppose aux nouveaux engagements qu'il prenoit. ‡ Sir William Temple.

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could give it. The intrigue succeeded. Sunderland, through the Dutchess of Portsmouth's means, was received into favour by the King; through the King, was pardoned by the Duke; was brought immediately into the privy-council, and not long after replaced in his former office. The Duke consented to the settlement required; but contrived to throw so many difficulties of law in the way, that it never took effect.

The Duke's
want of
power in
England.

IN the mean time Sunderland, by flatteries, promises, and services, brought the Duke to place confidence in him. As a proof of his attachment, he persuaded the King to fix his brother's residence near his own. In order to gain still further upon the Duke, he advised the King to bring him again into power. But Charles, conscious that, in his brother's want of popularity, he had himself become unpopular, would not listen to the advice. For, when the Duke, in his return from Scotland, waited upon his brother at Newmarket, and told him, "That he had no ambition to meddle again in the affairs of England, but that he wished to be intrusted with those of Scotland;" Charles received the declaration with thanks, which were more sincere than polite: And, before the intrigue of Lord Sunderland and of the Dutchess of Portsmouth took place, Charles had refused to allow his brother to quit Scotland, unless he would conform outwardly to the church of England; and had sent the Duke's brother-in-law, Lord Hyde, to Scotland, to persuade him to comply with that condition. Hence, during a year and a half, the situation of the Duke in England was truly awkward; seeing he was beloved, yet not trusted by his brother; without power, yet ashamed to own it; and blamed by his enemies for all the evils they suffered, and by his friends for all the disappointment of their hopes.

His great
power in
Scotland.

ONE end, however, the Duke obtained by his journey. He got liberty to dispose of power in Scotland as he pleased. In order to make use of it, he went to that country for a short time, where he placed the administration in the hands of the Lords Queensberry, Perth, and Aberdeen, who were attached to himself. In his return to England, the vessel in which he sailed perished by shipwreck; and he, with a few others, were saved in the barge. This accident was made remarkable by two circumstances: The one, that the person whom, in a fatal hour to himself, he discovered the greatest anxiety to save, was Colonel Churchill, afterwards Duke of

Marlborough; and the other, that, when the mariners, who had been left to perish in the wreck, saw the Duke in safety in the barge, they gave three huzzas, while their vessel was sinking: Generous shouts, by which Princes might be taught to reflect upon the tenderness which they owe to their subjects!

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WHEN the Duke of Monmouth heard that the Duke of York had fixed his residence in England, he returned in the year 1682 from abroad. The common welcome of the city did not content him. He made a progress through the discontented counties of Lancashire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Cheshire, with a retinue of above an hundred persons, armed and magnificently accoutered. The Lords Macclesfield, Brandon, Rivers, Colchester, Delamere, Ruffel, and Grey, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and many others of the high gentry of the whig party, met him at the head of their tenants in different places. And, as the ancient manners of England were not at that time laid aside, most of those who came to meet him were armed. When he approached a town, he quitted his coach, and rode into it on horseback: The nobility and gentry went foremost in a band; at a distance and single, rode the Duke; and at a distance behind him, the servants and tenants. When he entered the towns, those who received him, formed themselves into three ranks; the nobility, gentry, and burghers being placed in the first, the tenants in the next, and the servants in the last. He gave orders for 200 covers to be prepared wherever he dined. At dinner, two doors were thrown open, that the populace might enter at the one, walk round the table to see their favourite, and give place to those who followed them, by going out at the other: At other times he dined in an open tent in the field, that he might the more see and be seen. At Liverpool, he even ventured to touch for the King's evil. He entered into all country diversions; and, as he was of wonderful agility, even ran races himself upon foot; and when he had outstripped the swiftest of the racers, he ran again in his boots, and beat them, though running in their shoes. The prizes which he gained during the day, he gave away at christenings in the evening. The bells were rung, bonfires made, and volleys of fire-arms discharged, wherever he came: The populace waving their hats in the air, shouted after him, "A Monmouth! a Monmouth!" And all promised him their votes in future elections to parliament. Informations of these things were sent hourly to

Monmouth's
return and
progress
through the
north-west
of England.
1682.

court, by the spies who were sent to the country for that purpose; and the King and his brother were the more alarmed, because they knew, that the royalists had held their consultations for the restoration of the royal family at horse-races, and cock-matches; upon which account, Cromwell had forbid these diversions. Jeffreys was at this time chief justice of Chester, and then first disclosed that temper which afterwards burst forth with so much fury. Some disturbances having happened at Chester, he wrote to court for a commission of oyer and terminer to be issued under the pretence of trying coiners and clippers; and then made use of it against Monmouth's followers, boasting of his invention, and rejoicing in the punishments he inflicted.

In the midst of Monmouth's triumphs, Charles gave orders to take him into custody. The day he was arrested, he was to dine in the public streets of Stafford with all the inhabitants, in consequence of an invitation which they had given him. A single messenger entered the town, shewed his writ, and carried him off. Monmouth dispatched Sir Thomas Armstrong to London for a *habeas corpus*: It was instantly granted: Monmouth, instead of returning to his friends, continued his journey to London. Men knew not which most to admire, the reverence of the people for the laws when they saw them displayed, or the noble nature of the law of personal freedom, which gave security even to a disturber of the state, until a legal charge was brought against him.

The King's
invasion of
the charters.

This year was signalized by a project, which was calculated to lay the constitution and the King's enemies equally at his feet. As the scheme of the *quo warrantos* was the great circumstance of Charles's reign which discovered his intention to undermine the liberties of England, and as it was one of the chief foundations of all the future calamities of his family, it is proper to give a particular account of it here.

FROM the grand principle of sympathy in human nature, which, by communicating the passions of all to all, increases their joint force, towns are generally the seats alike of liberty and enthusiasm, where enthusiasm prevails in a nation: The popular and dissenting interests upon this

• His letters are in the paper-office. From papers in that office I have taken the circumstances of Monmouth's progress through the west.

account joining, gained, during the opposition to Charles the First, a superiority in the magistracies of most of the boroughs, which was afterwards extended to almost all of them upon the usurpation of Cromwell. At the restoration, a law was indeed made, which impowered the King, within a limited time, to remove obnoxious magistrates from boroughs. But, from the popular odium which attended the execution of this law, little use was made of it. Hence Charles found continual opposition to his measures from the city of London, and from most of the boroughs of the kingdom. Hence the juries of the city, who were named by the popular magistrates, to try the King's complaints against the mutinies of his subjects, acquitted most of the prisoners. And hence, although Charles changed four parliaments in the course of two years, he was not able to bring one house of commons to comply with his will. By the law of England, the validity of charters of corporations might be inquired into by the writ of *quo warranto*: The profligate Jeffreys suggested to the King, that most of them might be annulled, in consequence of such an inquiry. Charles began with the charter of the city, against which he directed a prosecution in the King's-bench. It is needless to mention the frivolousness of the grounds upon which the action was maintained; because the King avowed it, when, in a publication authorised by him*, he afterwards acknowledged, that his view in overturning the city-charters, was to take the nomination of the juries from the popular party. At the same time, under colour of law, but more by violence, the details of which, though interesting once, are unimportant now, he forced a mayor and sheriffs of his own chusing upon the city. After the attack upon the city-charter succeeded, it was transferred to almost every other borough in the kingdom. The most trifling deviations from the terms of ancient charters, the most insignificant offences committed by the officers of boroughs, even against the most obsolete laws, were made the pretences for the forfeiting of charters. One or two instances may be given as examples. The charter of St. Ives was attacked, because that borough had four constables, instead of the original number of three, and three serjeants at mace, instead of two. The complaint against Oxford was, that the city had five aldermen, when the charter gave only four; that the fair was kept in one place instead of another; and that Steven Kibble, the town-clerk, had signed himself the King's clerk,

* Sprat.

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without the King's leave. In order that these prosecutions might be more effectually carried on, a committee was named by the King to receive informations; an institution which irritated one half of the people against the other, and debased both. The greatest men in the nation became informers; and individuals indulged their private piques, under pretence of serving the public interest. Lake, Bishop of Chichester, prostituted the holiest of professions to the basest of offices; even the elegant Lord Halifax, and the virtuous Duke of Ormond, joined with the meanest of mankind in promoting the surrenders and the forfeitures of charters. Judgments of forfeiture fell upon many boroughs: And many more, conscious of the inequality of the combat between them and their Sovereign, before judges named by him, of high tory principles, and removeable at pleasure*, made voluntary surrenders of their constitutions. The King new-modelled the charters, and restored them, but reserved to the crown the nomination to all power in the boroughs, and filled them with electors agreeable to himself. Measures which, had they not been defeated by the revolution, could not have failed, by throwing parliamentary elections into the hands of the Sovereign, to have introduced a tyranny the more painful to the subjects, because the old forms of freedom would have been continually before their eyes †.

Rye-house
plot.
1683.

Complaints
on which it
was founded.

WHILE the Duke in Scotland, and the King in England, were pursuing these measures, to bring the spirits of the people in both kingdoms under subjection, there was a band of friends, who, having long opposed the King's measures in a legal way, prepared to seek relief, where freedom for ever points it out to her friends, when the voice of the laws is put to silence. They reasoned among themselves: "The King, by securing the juries in the city, had now at his mercy the lives of all who had hitherto exposed themselves for their country. By the disuse of parliament, he had put it out of their power to recur to constitutional remedies. Even if he should alter his present plan of governing without that assembly, he had, by making himself master of parliamentary elections in the boroughs, barred all legal opposition to his will for the future. The Duke, by bending the martial spirits of the Scotch, would form them to be the fittest instruments of tyranny against the Eng-

* Sprat, 164.

† I have taken the circumstances of the *quo warrantos*, from papers in the paper-office.

“lish. What was left for them, freemen, the sons of freemen, to preserve
 “their freedom, but resistance? The principles of self-defence called upon
 “them, their duty to their country commanded them, to prevent that
 “blow, which Princes, who aimed at arbitrary power, perhaps, already
 “meditated against both them and their country. It was glorious to
 “oppose that power, although they should perish in the attempt. But
 “their countrymen were not as yet so lost to shame and to virtue, as to
 “abandon their deliverers. If they should be abandoned, Britons, yet
 “unborn, would bless their names, and weep for their fates.”

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THIS band of friends was composed of Lord Russel, illustrious from the nobility of his descent; of Hampden, deriving still greater lustre from the commoner his grandfather; of Lord Essex, the friend of Russel; and of Algernoon Sidney, who derived his blood from a long train of English nobles and heroes, and his sentiments from the patriots and heroes of antiquity; a man in some of whose letters * all the manly, yet

Characters of
 conspirators
 and their ob-
 jects.

* The writings of Mr. Sidney are unequal, like those of most men who are not professedly scholars. But how far the above observation is just, may be seen from the following letter which he wrote to one of his friends who had advised him to return into England after the restoration.—“Sir, I am sorry I cannot in all things conform myself to the advices of my friends. If theirs had any joint concernment with mine, I should willingly submit my interest to theirs: But when I alone am interested, and they only advise me to come over as soon as the act of indemnity is passed, because they think it is best for me, I cannot wholly lay aside my own judgment and choice. I confess, we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country, and I have a particular love to mine. I hope, I have given some testimony of it. I think, that being exiled from it is a great evil; and would redeem myself from it with the loss of a great deal of my blood. But when that country of mine, which used to be esteemed a paradise, is now like to be made a stage of injury; the liberty, which we hoped to establish, oppressed; luxury and lewdness set up in its height, instead of the piety, virtue, sobriety, and modesty, which we hoped God, by our hands, would have introduced; the best of our nation made a prey to the worst; the parliament, court, and army, corrupted; the people enslaved; all things vendible; no man safe, but by such evil and infamous means as flattery and bribery; what joy can I have in my own country in this condition? Is it a pleasure to see all I love in the world is sold and destroyed? Shall I renounce all my old principles, learn the vile court-arts, and make my peace by bribing some of them? Shall their corruption and vice be my safety? Ah! no: Better is a life among strangers, than in my own country upon such conditions. Whilst I live, I will endeavour to preserve my liberty; or, at least, not consent to the destroying of it. I hope, I shall die in

tender eloquence of Brutus, breathes forth, and who, in firmness and simplicity of character, resembled that first of Romans. Lord Russel, though heir to the greatest fortune in the kingdom, yet esteeming the meanest freeman to be his equal, so disinterested, that he never accepted any office of profit or power under government, was the most popular man in England. From principle and reasoning, more than from natural vigour of sentiment, he assumed the high tone of opposition to arbitrary power, and therefore the higher praise was due to him. When Charles disappointed the bill of exclusion, Lord Russel said, "If my father had advised the measure, I would have been the first to impeach him." But what he only said, Essex and Sidney would have done. Essex had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and at the head of the Treasury; but threw every honour of government behind him, because he preferred the people to the King. Sidney had been active equally in parliament, and in the field, against Charles the First, as long as that Prince was an object of terror; but, when he was appointed to be one of his judges, he refused to trample upon an enemy who could no longer defend himself. He checked and prevented some attempts against the life of Charles II. while a youth.

the same principles in which I have lived, and will no longer live than they can preserve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies; but, as I think, of no meanness. I will not blot and defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when God should cast me into such a condition, as that I cannot save my life, but by doing an indecent thing, he shews me the time is come, wherein I should resign it. And when I cannot live in my own country, but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think he shews me I ought to keep myself out of it. Let them please themselves with making the King glorious, who think a whole people may justly be sacrificed for the interest and pleasure of one man, and a few of his followers; Let them rejoice in their subtilty, who, by betraying the former powers, have gained the favour of this, not only preserved, but advanced themselves in these dangerous changes. Nevertheless, perhaps, they may find the King's glory is their shame, his plenty the people's misery; and that the gaining of an office, or a little money, is a poor reward for destroying a nation (which, if it were preserved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the most glorious in the world) and that others may find they have with much pains purchased their own shame and misery; a dear price paid for that, which is not worth keeping, nor the life that is accompanied with it.—My thoughts as to King and state depending upon their actions, no man shall be a more faithful servant to him than I, if he make the good and prosperity of his people his glory; none more his enemy, if he doth the contrary. To my particular friends I shall be constant in all occasions; and to you a most affectionate servant."

He opposed Cromwell, from the same hatred of arbitrary power, which had made him rebel against his sovereign. After the restoration, he submitted to a voluntary banishment during sixteen years; because he did not esteem that to be any longer his country, from which he thought liberty had fled. He returned to England, only with a view to pay the last duties to his father, the Earl of Leicester, who was dying, and then to quit it for ever: But, drawing in with his native air that spirit of party, which scarce any Briton can resist, he altered his intention, and plunged into all the cabals of the popular leaders in parliament. He had received a pardon from Charles II. for his offences against government: But, like Brutus, he thought that no obligations to himself could shake off those which he owed to his country. The high rank of the Duke of Monmouth, with his still higher popularity in the nation, made these men receive him into their councils, who was at this time particularly irritated by the affronts which had been lately put upon him. Essex introduced into the same councils Lord Howard, who, forgetting the nobility of his blood amidst republican notions, had sat as a commoner * in one of Cromwell's parliaments; a man against whom Russel, though his near relation †, had long entertained an aversion; either from an antipathy, which nature sometimes gives men against their bane, or from the common repugnance which people of silent tempers have to the loquacious. But Howard assumed merit from his late sufferings, and his continual complaints of them were accounted pledges of his sincerity.

By long society in party, the sentiments of these men in politics had come to be the same; and, as often happens to men of similar sentiments, they believed that their objects were the same too, although they were very different. Russel, Essex, and Hampden, intended to make no further use of insurrection, than to exclude the Duke of York, and to fix the barriers of the constitution with precision. Sidney aimed at the destruction of monarchy, and on its ruins to found that republic, which in imagination he adored. Monmouth hoped, amidst public distractions, to pave a way for himself to the throne. Howard, with luxuriant eloquence

* Late memoirs of the Howards, by a gentleman of the family.

† General dictionary, voce Lord Russel.

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They join
with Shaftes-
bury.

and wit, adopted the views of each particular person, and incited all to vigour and action, feeling for moments what they felt through life.

ALTHOUGH these persons disliked Shaftesbury, they all, except Sidney, who scorned the intercourse, entered into a communication of measures with him, because they stood in need of his vast party in the city, which was as daring as himself. Shaftesbury's only object was revenge. For, having lately informed the Duke of York, that the Dutchess of Portsmouth had prevailed upon the King, to get her son named his successor by parliament; and having offered to communicate other secrets to the Duke, if he would pardon what was past, the Duke broke off the conversation, by saying coldly, "My Lord Shaftesbury, you stand more in need of the King's pardon, than of mine." Lord Grey, endowed with the knowledge of letters and arts, but who hid under it a soul void of that virtue to which that knowledge is allied, joined the conspiracy; a man from whose loose life no generous enterprize was expected. A jury had lately found him guilty * of debauching his wife's sister, a daughter of a noble family; but, in the noise of public distractions, he hoped to make his private vices be forgot by the world and himself. Sir Thomas Armstrong, equally careless, but more innocent, followed his example: He had been Colonel of the guards, Gentleman of the horse to the King, the attendant of all his fortunes, and a companion in his pleasures: But the same social disposition, which had attached him formerly to the father, attached him now to the son. These were joined by Trenchard, who had made the motion for the bill of exclusion in the house of commons, and who exhibited in his person an example, common enough in public life, of great political, but of little personal courage. Major Wildman, a violent republican, who had been an agitator in Cromwell's army, Rumsey, one of Cromwell's colonels, whose reputation as a brave blunt soldier was high, and Ferguson, a Scotchman, and dissenting clergyman, remarkable for serving his party, and saving himself, in all plots, were the only persons of inferior note who were admitted to their cabals. Their meetings were held chiefly at the house of one Shepherd, a wine-merchant in the city, and who was accounted an humble and discreet dependent; a dangerous character to be trusted with the secrets of the great, in conspiracies. The most formidable of the conspirators were Essex, Sidney, and

* State-trials.

Hampden; partly because they were determined deists, and partly because they who believe they have a right over their own lives, are always masters of those of other men *. But Hampden, formed rather for the detail of opposition in parliament, than for the great strokes of faction in the state, although eminent when compared with other persons, had neither the talents nor the virtues of the two former. Russel invited Lord Cavendish, the friend whom he loved most, to join the party. Cavendish, who thought the project rash and premature, refused; and advised Russel to retreat, if he could without dishonour, but to proceed, if he could not.

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WITHOUT explaining themselves to each other upon the ends they proposed, the conspirators agreed upon an insurrection. Shaftesbury, who had been accustomed to city-tumults from his earliest youth, pressed for its being begun, and without loss of time, in the city, where, as he expressed himself, "He had 10,000 brisk boys ready to start up at a motion of his finger." Monmouth, who despised the citizens, because he had been accustomed to regular troops, thought the country the more proper scene of action at first; "Because," he said, "if the King's troops, which were only about 5000 men, and at that time all quartered in London, should march out to quell the insurrection, the capital would be left unguarded; or, if they continued in town to over-awe it, the insurgents would increase in numbers and courage in the country." At last, it was agreed, that, in order to create the greater distraction, the attempt should be made both in town and in the country at the same time. For this purpose, Shaftesbury undertook to raise the city, which he had divided into twenty parts, having fixed the commanders, and they the men under them, who were to act in each division; though partly from suspicion, and partly through pride, he refused to give in lists of his associates. Monmouth engaged to prevail upon Lord Macclesfield, Lord Brandon, Lord Delamer, and Sir Gilbert Gerard, to make an insurrection in Cheshire; and Lord Russel, that Sir William Courteney, who was tenderly attached to him, Sir Francis Drake, and other gentlemen in the west, should raise another in the western counties. Trenchard gave assur-

Plan of the
conspiracy.

* Hampden killed himself after the revolution. Essex's death, together with a letter from Lord Arran, the Duke of Ormond's son, to Sir Leoline Jenkins, 24th July 1683, in the paper-office, shews, that Essex had the same principles. Those of Sidney appear from his letter above quoted.

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ances that all the inhabitants of the disaffected town of Taunton should be in arms at a minute's warning. Shaftesbury was desired to connect the party with the discontented Scotch, and with the Earl of Argyle, because he was connected with them himself. Monmouth, Grey, and Armstrong, at one time, and Wildman at another, surveyed the guards, to observe how they might be secured. The general alarm which was intended to have been given at Michaelmas in the year 1682 was deferred from time to time, by different accidents. It was once fixed for Queen Elizabeth's birth-day, the 17th of November of that year, because that Princess had carried the glories of the English name as high, as, they said, Charles and his brother had laid them low. But, afterwards, it occurring, that most of the guards were that day put upon duty, in order to prevent the disorders in the streets, with which it was usually accompanied, the time was put off until the Sunday following; because, on a Sunday, the streets could be crowded with mechanics, without giving suspicion. But Ferguson, assigning another reason for the change, told some of his associates in the city, "That the sanctity of the work was suited to the sanctity of the day."

Inferior conspiracy to assassinate the King and Duke,

BUT, as it is impossible to check the ardour of conspirators, and especially in a country where every man glories in thinking for himself, a great number of those whom Shaftesbury had destined for the alarm in the city, becoming tired with delays, entered into a combination to assassinate the King and the Duke. Rumsey, Lieutenant Colonel Walcot, one of the officers who had * guarded Charles I. to the scaffold; Rumbold, formerly a Lieutenant in the republican service, and now a maltster, who, from the boldness of his spirit, and the loss of an eye †, passed among his associates, by the name of *Hannibal*; Goodenough, one of the late popular under-sheriffs of London; Ayloffe, a lawyer, whose aunt had been married to Chancellor Clarendon; Holloway, a merchant; Rouse, who had so lately escaped the fate of Colledge; and Ferguson; were the most active partisans in this subordinate concert. Ferguson took advantage of his profession, to remove any scruples which remained with his companions, by assuring them, that the sixth commandment made it their duty to take away two lives, in order to save those of thousands, which must be lost in an insurrection. With the savage pretensions to justice, which often accompany public reformation, when undertaken by the lower or-

* Sir Leoline Jenkins's papers, No. 77, in the paper office.

† Sprat 38.

ders of mankind, the inferior tribe of conspirators resolved to put the mayor and sheriffs to death, and hang up their skins in Guild-hall, as examples to their successors; and to mark Westminster-hall, and the house of commons, with similar memorials of their resentment against particular judges and members of parliament. But they differed among themselves upon the method of executing their purpose against the King and his brother, partly from the same idea of connecting the appearance of justice with the manner of their death, and partly from that desire of impunity which frustrates most desperate actions. Some proposed to kill them at the Lord Mayor's feast, in the view of that city which they had injured; others to do it in the streets during night, while the Princes were paying "lewd visits," as they were called, in their chairs. But the former of these projects, because too public, was thought to be dangerous; the other, because private, appeared liable to mistakes. Among other schemes, it was suggested, to fire twenty pocket-blunderbusses into the King's box in the playhouse; a suggestion, to which Lord Howard, the only man of the higher order of conspirators who * was in the secrets of the inferior, gave a sanction, by this ungenerous sarcasm †, "That then the Princes "would die in their callings." At last Rumbold, who, for the use of his trade, possessed a farm called the Rye-house, between London and Newmarket, pointed out, that, as the road through his farm was narrow, it was easy, by overturning a cart, to stop the coach in which the King and the Duke usually returned from Newmarket to London, and then to fire upon them, embarrassed in the passage, with one party from the hedges, whilst another was encountering the guards. Yet, even amidst the blackness of this project, some sparks of generosity appeared: For Walcot refused to fire upon the Princes, who would be defenceless; but offered to attack the guards, because they were able to defend themselves; and Rumbold expressed his concern at being under a necessity to discharge the first fire at the innocent postilion. But whilst Rumbold's associates were taking measures to execute this project, the King's house at Newmarket accidentally took fire, which obliged him to return to London sooner than was expected; and the scheme was disappointed. Struck with the accident, they converted it into an omen; and all the arts of Ferguson to wipe off the impression from their minds, could never rouse them again to a similar attempt.

disappointed
by an accident.
22d March
1683.

* Lord Howard's own confession in Sprat's appendix, p. 70.

† Sprat.

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1683.

Shaftesbury
hides himself
in the city;urges them to
haste.

IN the mean time, Shaftesbury, the once great parliamentary leader, minister of state, lord high chancellor of England, and head of the people against the King, fled from his own house, and hid himself in the mean suburb of Wapping; partly for refuge, and partly to be in the middle of the mischiefs he meditated. Yet, anxious from his fears, and trusting the meanest, while he distrusted the greatest of mankind, he concealed his abode from his more generous associates at the other end of the town; and kept up his correspondence with them only by messages, or obscure visits. From his place of concealment, he pressed them to anticipate the time they had appointed for insurrection; remonstrating continually, "That in vain they expected to find silence and fidelity among so great a number of confidants, some of whom, from vanity, were unable to conceal, and others, from interest, capable to betray a secret, the discovery of which would be rewarded so well. No time was needed for consideration: They had only to determine, whether they should attack their enemies with hopes of success, or wait till they were prevented by them with a certainty of ruin. Even although their prospects of victory were less fair than they seemed, it was better to perish in taking revenge of their enemies, and in a struggle for the cause of liberty, than on scaffolds, where the very forms of justice on the side of their enemies would make the persons who suffered by them, appear to fall by the laws, and not to fall with the laws. The citizens were prepared, impatient, already half in action; and, if the seat of government, and of the King's residence, was once secured, the rest of the kingdom would follow its fate. To the bold, bold attempts were easy; cowards alone met with difficulties. Those who attacked were masters of their own designs; they could turn even accidents to their advantage; but, to men obliged to defend themselves suddenly, every thing was new, and every new thing terrible: In dispatch, therefore, they had all things to hope; in delay, all things to fear." When he could not prevail by these arguments*, he threatened to run to arms in the city with his own party, saying, "That, as his alone would be the danger, his alone should be the glory;" and accusing Monmouth of a secret correspondence with his father; threats and reproaches, which were only wanting to disappoint the measures of the party, by disconcerting them.

* Sprat, p. 34. and appendix, p. 69. State trials, vol. iii. 666.

Soon after intelligence arrived from Mr. Trenchard, that the people of Taunton were not in readiness; and he begged a delay, hiding his own fears under those of other men. The Scotch too demurred, suspecting the firmness of the English; and insisted, that the Duke of Monmouth, as a pledge of the sincerity of their associates, should be sent down to Scotland to put himself at the head of the insurgents. Scruples, on account of the blood that was to be shed, touched Russel; compunctions smote Monmouth, from the dangers to which his father's life might be exposed; and a return was made to an animating message brought by Ferguson from Shaftesbury, that a delay was resolved upon. Unable to bear uncertainty any longer, that veteran chief, on the evening of the day which had been appointed for the insurrection, retired to Holland, where he soon after died, more of rage against his friends than his enemies, and more of either than of disease, in the arms of Walcot and Ferguson, who only of the many thousands who had sworn to share the same fate with him, adhered to his fortune to the last*.

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1683.
Hesitation of
the higher order of conspirators.

Conspiracy
delayed.
Nov. 19,
1682.
Shaftesbury's
flight and
death.

THE retreat of Shaftesbury and Ferguson, which at first pleased most of the higher order of conspirators, confounded the conspiracy; because the lines of communication of these two persons in the city were but imperfectly known. The difficulty which this created gave time for reflection. Monmouth heard a surmise, that some of the lower order of conspirators had an intention against the King's life; and that even Lord Macclesfield, from whose birth better things might have been expected, had proposed to assassinate the Duke†, in order to frighten his brother. Hampden and Russel perceived ‡ that the designs of Sidney were not the same with their own. These persons, therefore, called meetings of the heads of the party, in order to procure an explanation with regard to the

Conspiracy
renewed.
Meetings
called.

* There is in the paper office an account of his death from Holland to Sir Leoline Jenkins. He was full of suspicions and fears. He would not sleep, except in his cloaths, to be ready to start up. The passions which agitated him must have made a strong impression upon those who saw him. For they imagined, that even when he slept, he kept his eyes open.

† State-trials, vol. ii. p. 29.

‡ Lord Grey, p. 69.

principle of the declaration which they were to publish * when the insurrection should take place. At these meetings, it was agreed † to declare, that their arms were only defensive, and to be kept in their hands, not against their sovereign, but only until a free parliament should be called by him, which in a constitutional way, and according to ancient precedent, might redress public grievances, and settle the succession. A plan which most of them believed ‡ would soon bring about an accommodation between the King and his people; and which, by reconciling the principles of loyalty and liberty in the breast of Russell, removed some scruples which he had lately entertained. Sidney alone, who was troubled with no scruples, derided the project whilst he yielded to it, saying, "That people who drew their swords against their Sovereign, should not begin by thinking of a treaty with him." After this, they proceeded slowly, and with caution; like men who were afraid of hurting their countrymen, even to save their country. They stretched their scheme of insurrection wider and wider, § through the counties of England. They sent for Ferguson from Holland to explain Shaftesbury's connections in the city. They renewed a division of the city similar to that Lord's. And they formed a more intimate communication of measures with the Scotch, than they had hitherto done: For Sidney sent Aaron Smith, one who had been punished for his party, and was therefore the more attached to it, into Scotland; Baillie of Jervieswood, a man of fashion, and endowed with high virtue and spirit, came from Scotland, and Mr. Fletcher of Salton, from Holland, to manage the intercourse between the two countries. ** Stuart, a Scotch †† lawyer, and Carstairs ‡‡, a Scotch clergyman, were the persons who conducted the treaty with Argyle. And a ||| great number of gentlemen's sons, who had been in foreign services, went into England,

* Lord Grey, p. 50. † State-trials, vol. ii. p. 211. Lord Grey, passim.

† Ibid. p. 69.

‡ State-trials, p. 209.

** Letter Mr. Chudleigh

to Lord Sunderland, Hague, 20th August 1683, in the paper-office.

†† He was appointed Lord Advocate for Scotland, after the revolution.

‡‡ He was presbyterian chaplain to King William, secretary to Lord Portland after the revolution, and greatly trusted by King William in Scotch affairs.

||| Sir Leoline Jenkins. Papers in the paper-office. Books of privy-council, January 10, 1683.

under pretence of being pedlars, and spread themselves through the disaffected counties, to be ready when there was occasion for their services. It was resolved to send ten thousand pounds to Argyle in Holland, to enable him to buy arms, sail to Scotland, and put the western highlanders in motion. In order that all these things might be executed without confusion and with secrecy, six of the conspirators, Monmouth, Ruffel, Effex, Sidney, Hampton, and Howard, agreed to meet together from time to time as exigences required*.

DURING all this time, it is amazing, that secrets known to so many, not of the great alone, but also of the meanest of the people, men of the most disorderly passions, and whose passions were rendered still more unguarded through the use of strong liquors, by which their society in party was kept up, should so long lie concealed. At length, in the beginning of June of the year 1683, one Keyling, a salter, who had been so daring as to take into custody the Lord Mayor, in the late disputes concerning the city-elections, and who was, on that account, under fear of the more grievous prosecution, gave information to the secretary of state, Sir Leoline Jenkins, of the assassination-plot, in which he was himself engaged, using the stale pretence of all informers, that his conscience obliged him to do so. But, as accounts of plots were at that time, by reason of their frequency, little regarded, hardly any attention was paid to him: He, therefore, engaged † his brother to overhear a treasonable conversation between him and Goodenough, and to relate it. In the mean time, some of his associates, who had observed him waiting about Whitehall, charged him, at one of their meetings, with having been there. Rumbold prepared instantly to dis-

Inferior conspiracy discovered.

June.

* Hampden, when examined after the revolution by the house of Lords concerning the Rye-house-plot, said, "He thinks King William's coming into England to be nothing else, but the continuation of the council of six." And, in the same examination, he owned and justified the attempt. Vid. Journals house of Lords; 20th December 1689. Compare also Clarendon's diary, May 27, 1689. from which it appears that Hampden and even Burnet at the revolution avowed the truth of the conspiracy.

† John Keyling's examination in Lords journ. Dec. 20, 1689.

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1683,

patch him, but was prevented by the rest, who were moved by his tears and oaths of fidelity: From the meeting he ran directly to the secretary's office, where the sight of the terrors under which he still stood, removed all suspicion of the sincerity of his information. Upon this, some of the lower class of assassins were seized, and rewards published for seizing more. But, as these knew nothing of the cabals of their superiors, and their superiors knew as little of theirs, the great men continued in their houses, oppressed rather with anxiety than with fears.

Conspiracy
discovered.

At last, the blow came from two men, from whose profession it was least to be expected. Colonel Rumsey surrendered himself, and became evidence; Lieutenant Colonel Walcot wrote a letter from his hiding-place to the secretary of state, in which he offered also to make a discovery, and magnified the importance of the plot; an offer which he afterwards retracted, when he heard what Rumsey had done; perceiving the disgrace of his own conduct, when he saw it in that of another. Rumsey gave information of the meetings at Shepherd's. Shepherd was sent for; when threatened, told all he knew, as might have been expected, and confirmed the evidence of Rumsey.

The great
men seized.

LORD RUSSEL was the first of the great who was ordered to be searched for. He was taken into custody by a messenger who had walked long before his door*; whether from accident, or from the man's desire to let him escape, is uncertain. He was found neither preparing for flight, nor hiding himself, but sitting in his study. So soon as he was in custody, he gave up all hopes of life, knowing how obnoxious he was to the Duke of York; and only studied to die with decency and dignity. When brought before the council, he refused to answer any thing that might affect others: With regard to himself, he confessed some things with candour; and, in denying others, shewed what difficulty a man of strict honour finds, to distinguish between concealing truth and expressing a

* Samuel Johnson's examination in Journals house of Lords, Nov. 19, 1689.

falsehood*. Lord Grey followed him, but in a manner far different †, denying all he knew with imprecations, and exposing, by his clamours and insolence, that guilt and fear which they were intended to conceal. The vivacity of his spirits however supplied him with expedients, by which he made his escape, the same night, from the hands of the messenger. Essex was at his country-house, when he heard the fate of his friend, and could have made his escape; but, when pressed to make it by those around him, he answered, "His own life was not worth saving, if, by drawing suspicion upon Lord Ruffel, it could bring his life into danger." Monmouth had absconded; but, actuated by the same generous motive with Essex, he sent a message to Ruffel, when he heard he was seized, "That he would surrender himself, and share his fate, if his doing so could be of use to him." Ruffel answered in these words, "It will be no advantage to me to have my friends die with me." The anxiety of Howard, who ran every where, and to every body, denying the truth of the plot, and protesting his innocence, drew suspicion upon him. He was found hid in a chimney, covered with soot; a lurking-hole suited to its inhabitant. He shook, sobbed, and fell a crying. When brought before the King and council, he, for a while, maintained a silence, the effect of stupor, and which was at first mistaken for fortitude. But, when he recovered himself, he desired to speak in private with the King and Duke; and, falling on his knees to them, poured out all he knew. In consequence of his information, Essex, Sidney, Hampden, Armstrong, and many others, were seized. Sidney appeared before the council with simplicity of behaviour, discovering neither signs of guilt, nor the affectation of innocence. He refused to answer the questions which were put to him; and told them, if they wanted evidence against him, they must find it from others than himself. Baillie of Jervieswood was offered his life, if he would consent to turn evidence: He smiled, and said, "They who can make such a proposal to me, know neither me nor my country."

* Sprat, 121. Appendix, 131. Lord Ruffel's examination is in the paper-office, full of interlineations: Even the interlineations are interlined.

† North's examen, p. 381.

WALCOT, Rouse, with another of the intended assassins, having been previously tried and condemned, in order, by bringing the assassination immediately before the eyes of the public, to raise the public horror, and afterwards to confound, in that horror, the insurrection with the assassination, Lord Russel was brought next to his trial, the sighs of his country attending him. The King and the Duke, from a curiosity unworthy of their rank, had gone to the Tower, on the morning of his trial, to see him pass. Essex was at that time confined to the same chamber of the Tower from which his father, Lord Capel, had been led to death, and in which his wife's grandfather, Lord Northumberland, had inflicted a voluntary death upon himself. When he saw his friend carried to what he reckoned certain fate, their common enemies enjoying the spectacle, and reflected*, that it was he who had forced Lord Howard upon the confidence of Russel, he retired, and, by a Roman death, put an end to his misery.

Russel's trial.

WHEN Russel came into court, he desired a delay of his trial until next day; because some of his witnesses could not arrive in town before the evening. Sawyer the attorney-general †, with an inhumane repartee, answered, "But you did not intend to have granted the King the delay of one hour for saving his life;" and refused his consent to the request. Russel having asked leave of the court, that notes of the evidence, for his use, might be taken by the hand of another; the attorney-general, in order to prevent him from getting the aid of counsel, told him, he might use the hand of one of his servants in writing, if he pleased ‡. "I ask none," answered the prisoner, "but that of the Lady who sits by me." When the spectators at these words turned their eyes, and beheld the daughter of the virtuous Southampton, rising up to assist her Lord in this his uttermost distress, a thrill of anguish ran through the assembly. But when, in his defence, he said ||, "There can be no rebellion now, as in former times, for there are now no great men left in England," a pang of a different nature was felt by those who thought for the public. Howard was the chief witness against him. Russel, re-

* State trials, vol. iii. p. 135. and Burnet's account in the General Dictionary, voce Russel.

† Lord Russel's trial.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

speaking their common relation, heard him without signs of emotion; though, when the report of Lord Essex's death was brought into court, and being whispered from ear to ear, at last reached his, he had burst into tears. Soon after, Lord Howard, while he pronounced the name of Lord Essex, pretending to cry for his memory, at a time when he was, without concern, bringing death on his surviving friend, made the contrast between genuine and affected passion, virtue and dishonour, complete. Jeffreys, in his speech to the jury, turned the untimely fate of Essex into a proof of his consciousness of the conspiracy, in which both friends had been engaged. Pemberton, who presided as chief justice, behaved to the prisoner with a candour and decorum seldom found in the judges of this reign, or the next. Russel, in the conduct of his defence, did not avow the intended insurrection, lest it might hurt his friends who remained to be tried; nor deny it, lest it should injure his own honour. Hence it was thought by many, that his appearance at his trial did not correspond with the former lustre of his life: But those who knew his situation saw, that he chose to make the small remains of his life rather useful to others, than glorious to himself. The proof against him was not so strong as might have been expected; yet the jury found him guilty. Treby, the recorder, who had been embarked deeply with Lord Shaftesbury in his schemes in the city, was mean enough, instead of throwing up his office, to pronounce sentence of death upon his associate, and even to argue against an arrest of judgment. Yet Russel reproached him not, lest his reproaches might bring mischief upon others. But, when Rich, the sheriff, who had been formerly violent for the exclusion, and had now changed sides, brought him the warrant of death, he felt an inclination to say, "That they two should never vote again in the same way in the same house." But, recollecting that Rich might feel pain from the innocent pleasantry, he checked himself.

RUSSEL, during his trial, at his death, and in a more severe test of his fortitude than either, his parting with his wife and infant-children, and with his friend Lord Cavendish, preserved the dignity of his rank and character. With a deep and noble silence; with a

Russel's parting with his family and friend.

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long and fixed look, in which respect and affection, unmingled with passion, were expressed; Lord and Lady Russel parted for ever; he great in this last action of his life, but she greater. His eyes followed hers while she quitted the room; and, when he lost sight of her, turning to the clergyman who attended him, he said, "The bitterness of death is now past." The observation was just: For the fate of the survivor was more hapless, who, though she seemed to assume pride from her condition in public, lost her eyesight by continual weeping in private; and calling often for death, could never find it, until an extreme old age laid her for ever by the partner of her soul*. Lord Cavendish offered to manage his escape by changing cloaths with him in prison, and continuing at all hazards in his place. He refused, happy that he had equalled, not surpassed, his friend in generosity†.

Other anecdotes relating to his last hours.

BEING flattered with hopes of life by some divines, if he would acknowledge to the King, that he believed subjects had, in no case whatever, a right of resistance against the throne, he answered in these words‡: "I can have no conception of a limited monarchy, which has not a right to defend its own limitations: My conscience will not permit me to say otherwise to the King." Charles, by the advice of the Duke, refused 100,000 pounds, offered by the old Earl of Bedford for his son's life; an advice which the Duke had afterwards reason to repent, as shall be related in its proper place||. Charles felt not for an object far more affecting, the daughter of the virtuous Southampton motionless at his feet. In vain did he often repeat, in speaking of Essex's death, "My Lord Essex might have tried my mercy, I owed a life to his family," alluding to the fate of Essex's father, who had lost his life on a scaffold for his attachment

* She died at the age of 87 years. Collins's peerage, vol. i. p. 174.

† Subjects of history-painting are sought for in the histories of Rome and Greece. Many are to be found in our own. What a picture might the parting of Lord Russel with his family and friend make in the hands of a Hamilton! ‡ I had this

circumstance from Lord Littelton. Vid. also Archbishop Tillotson's examination in the Lords journals, Dec. 20, 1683.

|| Lord Bedford's letter to the King, which, in seeming to make an apology for this offer, seems to renew it, is in the paper-office, and is written with great tenderness.

to the King's father. Men suspected the intention of mercy to the dead, when they saw none shewn to the living. Charles, even at signing the warrant for the death of Lord Russel, marked remembrance of former injuries: For, alluding to Russel's having been one of those, who, in the heat of party during the prosecution of the popish plot, had disputed the King's prerogative of dispensing with the more ignominious part of the sentence of treason, pronounced against Lord Stafford; he said, "Lord Russel shall find, that I am possessed of that prerogative, which, in the case of Lord Stafford, he thought fit to deny me." The execution was performed not on Towerhill, the common place of execution for men of high rank, but in Lincoln's Inn fields, in order that the citizens might be humbled by the spectacle of their once triumphant leader, carried in his coach to death through the city; a device which, like most others of the kind, produced an effect contrary to what was intended: The multitude imagined they beheld virtue and liberty sitting by his side. In passing, he looked towards Southampton house; the tear started into his eye; but he instantly wiped it away. He prayed for the King; but, with a prescience of what afterwards happened, he foretold, "That, although a cloud hung now over the nation, his death would do more service than his life could have done." Honour and friendship attended him beyond the grave: Lord Cavendish joined the hand of his eldest son in marriage to one of the daughters of his deceased friend. We quit anecdotes relating to such illustrious personages with reluctance. Lord Cavendish was in the next reign fined in 30,000 pounds, for turning out of the presence-chamber a gentleman who had affronted him. His mother offered to pay the fine, by discharging 60,000 pounds, which the family had advanced to James's father and brother in their greatest extremities*; but her offer was rejected†.

* Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 308.

† It may seem difficult to reconcile Lord Russel's sincerity with some expressions in his last speech, which seem to import a denial of the truth of the conspiracy. It was much believed at the time, that Burnet was the author of some passages of the speech; and a comparison of the speech with one of Lord Russel's letters to the King in the paper office, which only denies the assassination, but not the conspiracy, makes it probable that the suspicion was just. Lady Rus-

BEFORE Sidney was brought to his trial, Pemberton was removed from the head of the King's Bench, and * even from the privy-council; and Jeffreys was put in his place, in order, by the fierceness of his temper and manners, to cope with a man, the vigour of whose spirit was known throughout Europe. A jury was selected with care, and composed of men of mean degree, to ensure his condemnation. Sidney was then fifty-nine years of age, his hair white, and his health broken by the fatigues of his youth and the studies of his age. He at first intended to plead guilty, in order to save trouble to himself and to others; but afterwards reflecting, that it was necessary to rouse his countrymen from their indolence, to vindicate the laws, by shewing them how easily these might be abused in their holiest sanctuaries, when parliaments were in disuse, he resolved to stand his trial; to which too perhaps he was incited by that aversion from an obscure death, which is natural to the brave. By the statute of treason, two witnesses were required to convict a man of that crime: But some discourses upon government having been found in Sidney's handwriting among his papers, Jeffreys declared from the bench to the jury, that these were sufficient in law to supply the want of a second witness, although the papers were totally unconnected with the conspiracy, and contained only sentiments of liberty worthy of

fel indeed, in her letter to the King (printed in the general dictionary), justifies Burnet. But she confesses, she was absent most of the time while her Lord was writing his speech; and Burnet was continually with him. In the paper-office there is a letter from Lord Russel to the King, 19th July 1683, to be delivered after his death, in which he acknowledged he had been present at the meetings. At the bottom of this letter there is a note from Burnet to Lady Russel, advising her to send only a copy, not the original, to the King; which shews what freedoms he thought himself intitled to take with the last commands of his patron. Burnet probably produced this letter when he was called before the privy-council.

It may appear ungenerous in the living to throw reflections on the dead. But it is a piece of justice I owe to historical truth, to say, that I have never tried Burnet's facts by the tests of dates, and of original papers, without finding them wrong. For which reason, I have made little use of them in these Memoirs, unless when I found them supported by other authorities. His book is the more reprehensible, because it is full of characters, and most of them are tinged with the colours of his own weaknesses and passions.

* Books of privy-council, Oct. 24, 1683.

Lycurgus. The outrages against law, through the whole of the trial, throw disgrace upon the judicial records of a country, in which the life of the subject is better protected than in any other upon earth. Sidney collected all the powers of his mind. Not using a regular defence, but, according as passion dictated or memory prompted, he urged, from time to time, every argument which the chicane of the law, or the great rules of reason and justice, suggested to a sound head, and a strong heart. The brutality of Jeffreys he answered in sarcasm decent, but severe, or by silences which were still more poignant. The arrogance of that judge, whilst he gave false colours to the law, Sidney laid open, by questions which admitted of no answer, or by self-evident propositions, of which all who heard could form a judgment. When the court would have persuaded him to make a step in law, which he suspected was meant to hurt him, he said, with perhaps an affected, but with a touching simplicity *, "I desire you will not tempt me, nor make me run on dark and slippery places; I do not see my way." Sidney, having taken advantage of a circumstance, that only partial passages of the writings which were produced against him were quoted, and even betraying some warmth in defence of the writings themselves, Jeffreys hoped to draw him into an avowal that he was the author. With this view, he handed the papers to Sidney, and desired him to take off the force of the passages by any others in the book. Sidney saw the snare, but pretended not to see it: He turned over the leaves with a seemingly grave attention, and then returning them to the bench, said, "Let the man who wrote these papers reconcile what is contained in them." After Howard's deposition was finished, Sidney was asked what questions he had to put to him? He turned from Howard as from an object unworthy to hold converse with, or even to be looked upon, and answered with an emphatical brevity, "None to him!" But, when he came to make his defence, he raised a storm of indignation and contempt against Howard †, who had received great obligations from him, as a wretch abandoned

* State trials, vol. ii. p. 206.

† Burnet.

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1683.

His behaviour
when brought
to receive
sentence.

by God and by man, profligate in his character, bankrupt in his fortune, and who owed him a debt which he meant to extinguish by his death. He mentioned, in a cursory way, his having saved Charles's life; but he spoke of it, not as a thing from which he assumed any merit, but only as the common duty of a man.

Anecdotes of
his last hours.

THE fate of Lord Russel had been determined in two days: But Sidney, more obstinate, prolonged his fate in court during three weeks. Even when brought up to receive sentence of death, he repeated and insisted upon almost every plea which had been over-ruled. During the whole of his trial, he had the art, by drawing down unjust repulses upon himself, to make the odium of his crime be forgot in that which he raised against his judges and his prosecutors. Withens, one of the judges, gave him the lie; he seemed to disregard it, as an injury done to himself only: But when Jeffreys interrupted him, whilst he was opening a plea, he took advantage of it, as an injury done to justice; and cried out, "Then, I appeal to God and the world, I am not heard:" After which he refused to defend himself any longer. When sentence was passed upon him, he made this pathetic exclamation: "Then, O God! O God! I beseech thee to sanctify these sufferings unto me, and impute not my blood to my country, nor to this city through which I am to be carried to death. Let no inquisition be made for it: But, if any shall be made, and the shedding of innocent blood must be revenged, let the weight of it fall only on those who maliciously persecute me for righteousness sake." Jeffreys, starting from his seat, called out, that the prisoner's reason was affected. But Sidney calmly stretched out his arm, and desired Jeffreys to feel "if his pulse did not beat at its ordinary rate." Instead of applying for mercy to the throne, he demanded only justice: For he set forth, in a petition to the King*, the injuries which had been done to the laws in his person; and, as an equal, desired to be carried to the royal presence, that he might, there, have an opportunity of shewing the King, how much his own interest and honour were concerned, in giving that redress which his judges had refused. That simplicity of behaviour

* The petition, which is exceedingly manly, is in the paper-office.

with which he had behaved at the council board, he converted into an air of grandeur at his death before the people. He went on foot with a firm step *; he asked no friend to attend him; and, only for decency, borrowed two of his brother's footmen to walk behind him. He ascended the scaffold with the look, and step, and erect posture, of one who came to harangue or to command, not to suffer; pleased to exhibit a pattern of imitation to his countrymen, and to teach them, that death was only painful to cowards and to the guilty. Englishmen wept not for him, as they had done for Lord Ruffel. Their pulses beat high, their hearts swelled, they felt an unusual grandeur and elevation of mind, whilst they looked upon him. He told the sheriffs who had returned a packed jury against him, "It was for their sakes, and not for his own, he reminded them, that his blood lay upon their heads." When he was asked, if he had any thing to say to the people; he answered, "I have made my peace with God, and have nothing to say to man." In a moment after, he said, "I am ready to die, and will give you no farther trouble." And then hastened to the block, as if indignant of life, and impatient to die †. These were the only words he spoke in public, upon account of the meanness, and still more of the affectation, of a speech on a scaffold. But he left his last thoughts behind him in writing with his friends; because these, he knew, would remain: Thoughts which government was at pains to suppress, and which, for that reason, were more greedily demanded by the people. The paper was calculated to keep the spirit of liberty alive, when he, who was accustomed to give it life, was laid in the dust. Instead of bestowing that pardon upon his enemies, which, in most dying men, arises from the consciousness of their needing forgiveness themselves, he treated them as if he had been immortal. He confuted the testimonies on which he had been condemned, without asserting his own innocence of the charge; he said, that, to reach him, the bench had been filled with men who were the blemishes of the bar; and he regretted death chiefly, because it had been inflicted by mean hands; striking thus at the witnesses, the judges, and the

* Account of his death sent to the King in the paper-office. † Ibid.

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jury, altogether. His own wrongs, in the course of his trial, he mingled with his country's; and he laid down the great and generous principles of political society, which, a few years afterwards, were made the foundations of the revolution. Instead of praying for the King, he prayed for his country. Instead of drawing a veil over the cause for which he suffered, he addressed his Maker as engaged in it with himself. "Bless thy people," concluded he, "and save them: "Defend thy own cause, and defend those who defend it. Stir up "such as are faint; direct those who are willing; confirm those who "are wavering. Grant, that, in my last moments, I may thank "thee for permitting me to die for that good old cause, in which, "from my youth, I have been engaged."

Other trials
and punish-
ments.

THE unpopularity which Sidney's trial brought upon government, probably saved the life of Hampden. As * Howard was the only witness against him, he was tried only for a misdemeanor, but fined 40,000 l. Armstrong, after escaping, had been outlawed; but, before the expiration of the year allowed by law for a surrender, he had been seized abroad, and sent over to England. Holloway, one of the subordinate conspirators, was in the same situation. But that trial which was granted to Holloway, because there was sufficient evidence against him, was refused to Armstrong, because there was not. The pretence made use of by Jeffreys for refusing a trial to Armstrong, was, that his appearance in court by compulsion was not equivalent to a voluntary surrender: A pretence which was equally good against both, or against neither. Armstrong desired to be heard by counsel upon the plea of his right to a trial: Even this request was refused: And, when he said, that he asked only the common benefit of the law, Jeffreys answered, "You shall have that "indeed: By the grace of God, you shall be executed upon Friday

* Howard's credit was lost from his manner of haranguing in giving his evidence. Vid. state-trials. In order to refresh his memory, a copy of his original informations had been given him. In the paper-office, I find a note in the hand-writing of Mr. Blaithwaite in these words: "10th August 1683, Copies of Lord Howard's narratives to be given him."

"next: You shall have the full benefit of the law*." He was conducted to death by those guards whom he had once commanded.

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Punishments
in Scotland.

BAILIE was sent to Scotland, where, contrary to the laws of that country, written depositions were read to the jury in court, which had been partly extorted by torture out of court, and partly transmitted from the record of the state-trials in England. Being † broken with infirmities, he was executed the same day ‡ he was condemned, lest a natural death should have disappointed a public execution. Several others were put to death in Scotland: But most of the conspirators fled to Holland, and, at the revolution, returned with the Prince of Orange: Of those who fled, the most eminent were Lord Melville, Lord Loudon, and Sir Patrick Hume, created, after the revolution, Earl of Marchmont. The constancy with which the great had died, communicated itself to men in inferior stations: Spence, the Earl of Argyle's secretary, and Carstairs, who had been seized in England, were sent to Scotland to be tortured §. Spence endured the torture twice, and Carstairs for a complete hour; but neither would confess, until terms were made with them, that they should not be obliged to become evidences. A shocking instance of cruelty || was, upon this occasion, exhibited in the Scottish privy-council. Mr. Gordon of Earlstone, a man of family and fortune, was condemned to die: Information was given to the privy-council, that he had been intrusted with secrets of great importance: The council wrote to the Scotch secretary of state at London, to know if they might put him to the torture, while he was under sentence of death. The Lord advocate for Scotland gave his opinion, that he might be tortured: And the King gave orders that he should: He was brought before the privy-council, and the engines produced: But horror drove him into instant madness. Worse tortures were prepared for Ferguson, if he could have been found: It was known that he had fled to Edinburgh: The gates of the city were shut, and the strictest search made for him. But,

* Armstrong's trial, and Lords Journals, 20 December 1689.
of Scottish privy-council, 8th April 1684.

† Records

‡ Gazette. Jan. 5, 1684.

§ Record Scottish privy-council, July 6, August 7. September 5, 1684.

|| Ibid. August 21, September 21. November 23, 1683.

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Fluctuation
of mind in
the King and
Monmouth.

under pretence of a visit to a prisoner, he took refuge in the gaol destined for his reception, because he knew that, there only, no body would expect to find him*.

AMIDST a struggle between the feelings of the monarch, and of the father, in Charles, and between the duties of a son, and the respects of honour, in Monmouth, to his suffering friends, Monmouth surrendered himself; confessed in private to the King and Duke, the truth of the insurrection, discovering that it was much wider and more dangerous than is mentioned in any printed relation; received his pardon; but, when an account of all this was put into the Gazette, denied in public that he had made any confession at all†. He was then called by the King to sign a declaration‡ acknowledging the truth of the insurrection; he signed the paper, but immediately recalled it§, when he recollected the use which might be made of it against his friends. Upon this account, he was banished the court, and retired abroad. Monmouth's surrender and confession arose from a refinement of Lord Halifax||, in whom he confided, and who wished to keep him at court, in order to balance that ascendancy in Charles's councils, which he foresaw the Duke of York would assume, upon the suppression of all opposition to his brother: A scheme which, like most other refinements, failed in the execution. Monmouth fixed a second time his residence in Holland, where he was received with kindness and respect¶, and treated even with an affectation of familiarity by the Prince and Princess of Orange; partly with a view in that Prince to ingratiate himself with the whig-

* This adventure of Ferguson I take from a report common in Scotland. Common reports are very often confirmed by authentic documents. I find an order to search for him in the Scotch records of privy-council, 4th July 1683.

† The examination of Dr. Chamberlain, a man of honour, and the particular friend of the Duke of Monmouth, is in the paper-office. Monmouth complained to him of the Gazette, at the same time that he owned the truth of the conspiracy.

‡ In the paper-office, there are two copies of the paper which it was intended Monmouth should sign; the one is in Sir Leoline Jenkins's hand, and bears very hard on Monmouth. The other is in the King's hand, and is much more delicate.

§ Examination of Colonel Godfrey and Anthony Rowe in the Lords journals, December 28, 1689.
|| Mr. Hampden's examination in Lords journals, December 1689.
¶ D'Avaux.

party in England, and partly because he knew that Charles's secret fondness still belied his outward resentment against his son. From this period, the court of the Prince of Orange became a place of refuge for every person who had either opposed the Duke of York's succession, or pretended to be attached to the Duke of Monmouth. The Duke of York wrote to his daughter the Princess of Orange, complaining of the respects shewn to Monmouth; but in vain. Most of those who had followed Monmouth's fortunes, or who desired to do so, were soon after provided for by the Prince, in the British regiments which were in the service of the Dutch.

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ATTEMPTS unsuccessfully made against government always confirm that authority which they were meant to controul. Amidst these trials and executions, and others of less note, the kingdom seemed to ring with joy, and the churches to be filled with devotion; those who were suspected of connections with the conspirators expressing, beyond all others, their abhorrence of the conspiracy. The rejoicings for the marriage of the Duke's daughter with Prince George of Denmark, which happened during these executions, added to the appearance of the general transport. Addresses were presented from every quarter of the kingdom, expressing not only loyalty, but an entire surrender of the independence of the subject. Addresses in which many concurred from sincerity, others in order to conceal the want of it, and which none dared to oppose. The university of Oxford, from whose knowledge of ancient literature better things might have been expected, passed their famous decree, which carried the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance to its height. The court, the pulpit, the bench, the bar, all adopted in public the same principles: Had outward appearances given a true picture of the nation, every honour of English liberty was laid at the foot of the throne.

Excess in
national
expressions
of loyalty.

AFTER the defeat of the exclusion, the banishment of Monmouth, the humiliation of the whigs, and the exaltation of the tories, all eyes were turned to the Duke of York, in whose cause so many victories had been obtained. The whigs opposed not his influence, lest

Great power
of the King
and Duke.
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they should provoke it to fall upon themselves : The tories naturally supported it, because they had a claim to his gratitude. And, in the attentions which both paid to the Duke, the King was overshadowed. Oates, the informer of the Popish plot, was fined a hundred thousand pounds for injurious words spoken against the Duke ; people forgetting in the vileness of the man, that the punishment was contrary to the clause of the great charter, which provided that no man should be fined to his utter ruin. A similar sentence for the same crime was pronounced against Mr. Dutton, a man of character, and who had been a member of the late parliaments. Some private letters of Sir Samuel Bernardiston, which reflected upon government, were intercepted at the post-house ; for these he was fined 10,000 l. As he had been foreman of the jury which acquitted Shaftesbury, his former, more than his recent fault, was thought to have drawn this punishment upon him. Men became afraid to indulge their own thoughts, when they found that their conversations in company, and the secrets of their private correspondence, were turned into instruments of their ruin : And a high-spirited nation was irritated by the frequency of punishments, which individuals could neither bear to be inflicted upon themselves, nor to see inflicted upon others. Jeffreys, in his law-circuits through England, gleaned up many of the charters which had not been hitherto surrendered. When almost all the charters of the boroughs were in the hands of the crown, Charles published a declaration, in which he thanked his subjects for the trust they had reposed in him ; and promised not to abuse it : Thanks and promises, which were received as mere forms, by the wise, and, to the brave, appeared to be insults. Every thing now marked to the nation, the neglect into which the regulations of parliament were fallen : The Duke, notwithstanding the test-act, resumed his office of Lord High Admiral : In contempt of the house of commons, prosecutions were directed against Williams, the speaker of the two late houses, for warrants which he had issued by orders of the house : The Popish Lords, who had been committed to the Tower by warrant of the house of peers, were admitted to bail : The three years elapsed, when, by the second triennial act, a new parliament should have been called ; but the act was disregarded.

All these things were imputed, justly or unjustly, to the influence of the Duke. And a saying of Sir William Waller, was repeated, "That, since the parliament would not allow the Duke to assume the crown after the King's death, the King was resolved he should reign during his life."

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CHARLES, by advice of his brother, took advantage of the present submission to his will, to form a project, which, had it not been interrupted by the revolution, must have destroyed for ever the liberties of Britain. The Duke of Ormond kept a regular army in Ireland of 10,000 men, and a militia of 20,000, both supported by the revenues of that kingdom, and commanded by protestant officers. The experience of many centuries in England had discovered, that all the humiliations of the crown had arisen from the want of a mercenary army attached solely to itself. It was therefore now resolved, to new-model the Irish army, and to place popish in the room of the protestant officers, in order to rear up a military power, which might be attached to the King by the ties of a military dependence, and to his brother by those of a common religion. The Duke of Ormond was recalled from Ireland: Lord Rochester was appointed to succeed him. But, in order to disappoint the zeal which Rochester was known to entertain for the church of England, Lord Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, a man who loved bold ends, even for the sake of their boldness, not scrupulous about means, and a Roman Catholic, was intended to act as general, with absolute and independent power over the army. Yet, hesitating and fearful, and perhaps, from respect to Ormond and Rochester, ashamed to open their plan, the King and the Duke only wrote to Ormond, that alterations were to be made in many departments of government in Ireland, which made it necessary for him to quit it; and told Rochester, that the nomination of military officers was to be no longer any part of the duty of a Lord Lieutenant*.

Project for a
Popish army
in Ireland.

THE Duke of York, who acted continually by system, advised his brother to strengthen himself also in Scotland; and the modelling of

Scotland
modelled.

* The correspondence upon this project is subjoined to Cart's life of the Duke of Ormond, and is curious.

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that country was committed by Charles to his care. It was one of the Duke's favourite opinions, that the Highlanders were the best resources of the kingdom, both against rebellion within, and invasion from without: He therefore contrived different plans for embodying them, and keeping up their martial spirit*; and, by civilities and favours to their chieftains, rivetted many of them to himself by an attachment which ended only with his life. He also dismissed all men who were suspected of whig principles from the offices into which many of them had been admitted at the end of Lauderdale's administration; and placed the keenest Tories he could find in their stead†.

Charles unhappy.

AMIDST these measures and projects, Charles was unhappy: His usual gaiety forsook him: Rudeness to persons around him succeeded to the manners of the best bred man in Europe. The reflection that he had no child to succeed him; the court which, even during his life, he saw paid to his successor; the absence of his favourite son, whom, with all his errors, he still loved, tormented him; his knowledge of the Duke's character and intentions, with the consequences which he foresaw from them, added fears for the future to his present anxiety. After some difference in sentiment between them, he was one day overheard to say, "I am too old to go to my travels a second time; brother, you may, if you will." Perhaps too, the remembrance of the popularity of his younger days, contrasted with the situation in which he at present stood with regard to a great part of his people, might recur upon his mind. He endeavoured to lose all reflection among his women; a habit which only increased his gloom, because it added the uneasiness which arises from idleness to that which already occupied his mind.

Intrigues of Sunderland.

IN this state of the King's mind, Sunderland took advantage of the Duchess of Portsmouth's fondness for her lover. He persuaded

* Records of Scottish privy-council.

† The commission which altered the privy-council is in the records of the Scotch privy-council, 5th July 1684. Charles uses this expression in it, "That he had removed those who were luke-warm."

her that the retreat of the Duke of York into Scotland, whose unpopularity injured his brother, and the bringing back into the King's presence a son whom he loved, were the only means to restore him to his usual tranquillity of mind. Charles received the last part of the proposal with pleasure; because he had secretly corresponded with Monmouth through means of Lord Halifax: And he assented to his brother's removal, because the Dutchess, who had always maintained connections with the whig party, flattered him, that such a measure would reconcile that party to his government, without injuring the rights of his successor. Sunderland grafted on these changes a project of bringing about a reconciliation between Charles and the Prince of Orange, which was managed by the Duke of Monmouth in Holland; and the Prince, another for detaching Charles from his connections with France, which was conducted by Halifax in England *. Whilst these things were in agitation, Monmouth came over, and was admitted † privately to an interview by his father. Charles was taking measures to recall his son, and to send his brother to Scotland, when, by a sudden apoplexy, his intentions were prevented. He recovered: But after an intermission of two days, a second fit carried him off ‡. The last action of his life was to reconcile himself to the church of Rome ||. Suspicions instantly ran, that he was poisoned by the popish party, but without any appearance of truth, and merely on account of the critical time of his death, and because it was the interest of that party, that the throne should be filled by a Prince who professed their religion. The death of Charles was regretted more on account of the hatred which many bore to his successor, than of the love entertained for himself.

* Carte. D'Avaux. Duke of Monmouth's memorandum in Welwood.

† Burnet. Carte.

‡ Declaration of physicians in the books

of privy-council, Feb. 3. 4.

|| Father Huddleston's account of

the King's last hours proves that he was not reconciled to the church of Rome until that period.

B O O K II.

TEMPER of the Nation.——The King's Declaration.——His Situation with regard to his former Opponents.——First Steps of his reign.——New Ministry.——Coronation.——Situation of the King with regard to the Prince of Orange.——Argyle's and Monmouth's Preparations in Holland.——Argyle's Expedition.——Monmouth's Manifesto.——His first Movements.——Declared King.——His Delays and Retreat.——His Defeat.——Account of his Letters to the King.——His interview with the King.——His Execution.——Proceedings of Parliament.——Proceedings in Scottish Parliament.——Temper of Scotland.——Cruelties of Kirk and Jeffreys.

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Temper of
the nation, at
James's ac-
cession.

NO Prince ever mounted the throne of England, whose first measures of government ingrossed more the public attention, than those of James the second. The influence which he was supposed to have had over the spirit of the late King; his continual habit of business, partly the effect of his temper, but more of his situation; the animosity of parties concerning him; and the various turns of his fortune, had placed him, during many years of his brother's reign, in a more conspicuous point of view than even the sovereign himself. The exclusionists expected now little mercy from a King, to whom they had shewn none when he was a subject. The dissenters had felt the severity of councils which were imputed to him. Even some of the tories watched, with anxious minds, his first steps in civil, and still more of them, his first steps in religious concerns. Those who had no fixed principles of party

of their own, and who, even in nations the most zealous in politics, make a great part of the people, having had their curiosity awakened, and their passions inflamed, in the late reign, by reciprocal complaints of invasions upon the constitution which the royal and the popular parties had thrown upon each other, and by the continual rumours of popish and of protestant plots, were full of expectation to see or hear, and relate, the earliest movements of the new reign.

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THE first measures of James, after the death of his brother, were calculated to allay these ferments in the minds of his subjects. Having assembled the privy-council, he made the following speech, magnanimous in its sentiments, simple in its expressions: "My
 " Lords, before I enter upon any other business, I think fit to say
 " something to you. Since it hath pleased Almighty God to place
 " me in this station, and I am now to succeed so good and gracious
 " a King, as well as so very kind a brother, it is proper for me
 " to declare to you, that I will endeavour to follow his example,
 " and particularly in that of his great clemency and tenderness to
 " his people. I have been reported to be a man fond of arbitrary
 " power; but that is not the only falsehood which has been re-
 " ported of me: And I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this
 " government, both in church and state, as it is now by law esta-
 " blished. I know the principles of the church of England are fa-
 " vourable to monarchy; and the members of it have shewn them-
 " selves good and loyal subjects; therefore I shall always take care
 " to defend and support it. I know too, that the laws of England
 " are sufficient to make the King as great a monarch as I can wish:
 " And, as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogative
 " of the crown, so I shall never invade any man's property. I have
 " often before ventured my life in defence of this nation; and
 " shall go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and
 " liberties." These popular words were followed by a more popular action: James ordered a new parliament to be summoned: Another prudent order was issued, directing all persons to continue in their offices; by which the transition of government became

James's de-
claration.

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Apparent
cordiality
between
James and
his subjects.

imperceptible; and the new reign appeared to be no more than a continuation of the former.

THE King's declaration to his council had all the effect which he intended. The council begged it might be published: It was dispersed all over the nation; communities expressed their satisfaction by addresses, individuals by mutual congratulations. Even the pulpits resounded with its praises. From the steadiness of temper which attached James to his religious principles, an equal attachment to the promises contained in his declaration was inferred. The hearts of men overflowed now so much the more with love and confidence, because they had before been locked up in fears and jealousies. Even the exclusionists crowded to the palace, awkwardly mingling condolence for the loss of the late King with joy for the accession of his successor. In proportion as any of them reflected upon the activity of his former opposition, he endeavoured, by the early court which he paid, to wipe off the remembrance of it in James. The usual compliments of respect paid to every new sovereign by his subjects of condition, with the usual gracious returns to those compliments, diffused an appearance of satisfaction through the court; while the attention to magnificent trifles preparatory to a coronation, spread an air of unconcern and festivity through the capital.

Symptoms of
mutual dis-
trust.

YET, amidst these outward appearances of general satisfaction, James could not help behaving to many of the exclusionists, who came to wait upon him, with a visible displeasure; some of them he refused to see, others were received coldly, and a few even with frowns: Impotent marks of disgrace to men of independent fortunes, of high birth, and higher spirits. He removed the Duke of Richmond, son to the Dutchess of Portsmouth, from his station of master of the horse, conferred by his father upon him from his tenderest years. His reception of Lord Halifax was differently talked of, according to the different humours of men. For, when this Lord, who had opposed the exclusion with great eloquence, but had also opposed the Duke's influence at the end of the late reign, was making apologies to James for the latter part of his con-

duct; that Prince, interrupting him, said, "I will forget all your behaviour, except that in the affair of the exclusion:" A compliment which discovered delicacy and gratitude; but which alarmed some, who observed that it discovered remembrance of the event to which it alluded. But James's remembrance of past injuries became less ambiguous, when he ordered Sprat, bishop of Rochester, to publish a relation of the Ryehouse plot under the royal authority. This relation was written with great virulence of expression upon past heats; and in it an averment was made, that James knew of 20,000 persons who had been engaged in that plot: An implied menace, which, by the ambiguity of its object, caused every whig in the nation to think it was levelled at him. James, soon after, in his letter to the parliament of Scotland, and in an answer to the address of the house of Lords in England, spoke of past offences in a way which discovered that the King of England had not forgot the injuries done to the Duke of York.

JAMES behaved still more unguardedly with regard to religion in the very beginning of his reign: He ordered Huddleston, the priest who had attended the late King in his last moments, to publish a relation of that Prince's having taken the last sacrament according to the rites of the church of Rome. James published, in his own name, two papers written in his brother's hand, in favour of the Roman catholic doctrines; and was at pains to declare, he had found them in the royal strong box. He showed them to Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; who said, "That he did not think the late King had been so learned in controversy, but that the arguments in the papers were easy to refute." James desired him to confute them in writing, if he could. But Sancroft, with a politic compliment, answered, "It ill became him to enter into a controversy with his Sovereign." James changed his former custom of going privately to mass; and, on the first Sunday after his accession, went publicly, and with all the ensigns of royalty, to the celebration of a ceremony which the laws of the kingdom had declared to be criminal. Many were offended with the public spectacles of the King's religion, who had long heard with indifference of his principles. The Duke of Norfolk, who carried the sword

Imprudencies with regard to religion.

Customs and
excise levied
without law.

of state, stopped at the door of the chapel: The King passing him, said: "My Lord, Your father would have gone further." The Duke answered: "Your Majesty's father would not have gone so far." Soon after, the King having complained to Kenne, bishop of Bath and Wells, of a reflection which he was told the bishop had made against popery, in a sermon in the chapel-royal, "Sir," answered Kenne, "Had you attended your own duty in church, my enemies had missed the opportunity of accusing me falsely."

THE discontents, which the observation of these things produced, were increased by the first public act of state: Those branches of the revenue, which consisted of the customs, and of part of the excise, having been granted by parliament during the life of the late King only, expired at his death. There was little doubt that the next parliament would renew the grant to his successor; but still, until that renewal should be made, it was against law to levy the duties. Many of the London merchants, who, at that time, had goods on hand, waited on the commissioners of customs, intreating that the duties might be levied as formerly, in order to prevent their being underfold by those who should make importations before the parliament could be assembled. The commissioners, who saw their own danger, in ordering their officers to levy duties without law, waited in a body upon the treasury, to know what conduct they were to follow. The treasury, which saw equal danger in directing that conduct, made answer to the commissioners, "That the laws lay before them, and they might judge for themselves." The difficulty was carried to the privy-council. Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, with the haste and violence natural to his temper and habits, moved, "That the King should instantly issue a proclamation, commanding the revenue to be levied, and employed as in the former reign." Lord Keeper North advised, "That the duties should be paid into exchequer, and kept there separate from all others, until the next parliament should dispose of them." Others proposed: "That bonds only should be taken for the duties, to stand in force until the same period*." The King followed the opinion of Jeffreys. The old remembered the civil wars and miseries

* Life of Lord North, 254.

brought on the nation by the attempts of the King's father to levy part of the very same duties without consent of parliament. The young had heard these miseries recounted by the old. Men of reflection perceived public conveniency promoted, but public liberty invaded.

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IN order to cover this measure from national censure, the court procured addresses from many public bodies of the kingdom approving of it. The barristers and students of the Middle Temple, whose province it is to know the constitution, but whose profession is dependent, thanked the King, "That he had been graciously
" pleased to extend his royal care of the government to the prefer-
" vation of the customs." And concluded their address with a prayer, "That there might never be wanting millions as loyal as
" they, to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in support of his Ma-
" jesty's sacred person and prerogative, *in its full extent*." The university of Oxford declared, "They could never swerve from the
" principles of their institution, and their religion by law established
" in the church of England, which indispenibly bound them to
" bear all faith and true obedience to their Sovereign, *without any*
" *restrictions and limitations*." Compliments by public bodies to the Sovereign for the breach of the laws, only served to remind the nation that the laws had been broken.

THE suspicions which James's protestant subjects entertained of his partiality to the Roman Catholics, gave room for Sunderland, in the settlement of the ministry, to exert his talents for intrigue. James, remembering ancient injuries, and distrusting recent services, had resolved to send him abroad upon an embassy. Sunderland got intelligence of this, and also that the King intended to appoint Hyde, lately created Earl of Rochester, High Treasurer, partly to oblige the church party, of which that Lord was vain to be accounted the head, and partly on account of decency, because he was uncle to the Princesses. But Sunderland, concealing from Rochester what he knew, pretended that he was managing that honour for him with the King, and at the same time alarmed him with the danger to which their common interests were exposed from

New mini-
stry.

Roman Catholic influence. Rochester, in return, prevailed upon the King to continue the seals in Sunderland's hands. Rochester, whose high principles in church-matters, led him to principles equally high in those of government, urged that none but rigid Tories should be admitted into the king's service: On this subject, a conversation between him and Lord Keeper North was repeated: North had said, that he thought people ought to be brought into employments, rather for their abilities and experience, than for their party attachments*: Rochester, raising his voice, answered, "God's wounds! my Lord, don't you think, that, in one month's time, I could understand any business in England?" "Yes, my Lord," replied the other dryly, "but you could understand it much better in two." But Sunderland advised James to mix different humours in his council. Ormond returned from Ireland sooner than the late King had directed; and Clarendon, brother to Rochester, was appointed Lord Lieutenant in his stead. Halifax, to whom Rochester was a mortal enemy, because he had been accused by Halifax of purloining the public treasure, was placed at the head of the council-board. Lord Godolphin was degraded from stations he had once possessed, of secretary of state, and head of the treasury, to be chamberlain to the Queen. Arlington, notwithstanding the open court he had long paid to the Prince of Orange, was continued Lord Chamberlain. The other great officers remained in their stations. So that the ministry was composed chiefly of men hating each other, suspecting the King, and suspected by him; some of whom were partial to the views of the Prince of Orange, and others to his person. And indeed, the late King, by changing his ministers so often, had made it very difficult to find a number of persons of figure who were attached to each other, and to his successor at the same time.

*Coronation.

DURING the coronation of James, the crown, not being properly fitted to his head, tottered. Henry Sidney, keeper of the robes, afterwards so famous for the mischiefs he brought upon James, kept it once from falling off, and said, with pleasantry to him,

* Lord North's life.

"This is not the first time our family has supported the crown." This trifle was much remarked and talked of at the time; a sure mark that the minds of the people were under unusual agitations.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1684.

THE first measure of the new administration was to attempt to bring about a reconciliation between James and the Prince of Orange. The first advances were easily made on both sides. For, as it was the interest of James, to make the discontented part of his subjects believe, that the Prince of Orange was attached to his person; so it was equally for the advantage of the Prince, to be thought to be on good terms with the King, in order to support in Holland the reputation of his own power, and to raise jealousies in the mind of the French King. The Prince readily complied with the desire of his father-in-law, to remove Monmouth from Holland, to concur in persuading the Spaniards to refuse him refuge in Flanders, and to dismiss his adherents from their employment in the British regiments in the service of the Dutch*; though, at the same time, he took care to provide for most of them † in the service of different German Princes. James, on the other hand, took ‡ some high measures in points of honour with the French, talking in public of taking still higher on more material articles, and proposed an alliance with the Dutch||, and junction of interests with the Prince. But as, in these advances, James's object was to maintain peace, that he might be independent of parliament for supplies, encourage commerce, of which he was fond, and, above all, procure leisure for the conversion of his subjects, which he was resolved to attempt, and, on the other hand, the Prince's only object was to raise war against France, the proposal ended in nothing. The salvos, which the Prince often made with regard to religion §, in the assurances of attachment which he gave, whether the effects of honour or of the use he intended to make of them, James thought had an insidious air. Ancient enmities are often increased by attempts to remove them: And, while the King of England's subjects flattered themselves with an

Coldness between the King and Prince of Orange,

* D'Avaux, 1685. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. and Burnet. || D'Avaux, 1685. § Ibid. 1684, 1685.

Earl of Ar-
gyle rouses
Monmouth.

alliance of England and Holland against France, the King disclosed all his jealousies of the Prince of Orange, to Barillon the French ambassador*.

BUT appearances of an invasion from Holland soon increased the jealousies of James: Argyle had continued in the Low Countries from the time that the sentence of attainder was obtained against him, by the King, when Duke of York. Monmouth had resided in the same countries, after the detection of the Rye-house-plot. The similarity of fate formed a connection between two persons, in whose characters there was but little resemblance. Argyle, continually stung with the remembrance of his own injuries, endeavoured to inflame Monmouth with similar sentiments. He † pressed him to invade England; and offered to make an invasion in Scotland at the same time. He gave assurances, "That, as he was himself the head of
" a numerous highland clan, and his father had been head of the
" covenanters, great numbers of his countrymen would join him.
" That the clemency which Monmouth had shewed to the cove-
" nanters, after the battle of Bothwell-bridge had made his name as
" dear in Scotland, as that of James, who had persecuted them,
" was odious. That in England, the same great body of exclu-
" sionists, who had joined to prevent the King from mounting the
" throne, would again join to pull him down: And that though,
" from the want of parliaments during the last years of the late reign,
" the voice of that party had not, for some time, been heard, it
" would now break forth with violence, increased by its interruption.
" That the late dismissal of his adherents from the Dutch regi-
" ments ensured him of a body of officers, stimulated by the two most
" powerful of all motives, revenge and necessity. That a Prince,
" scarce seated on his throne, whose subjects were divided, and whose
" forces must be separated to oppose different insurrections, could not
" withstand a double attack from England and Scotland at one time." He pointed out to the Duke, who was fond of glory, the examples of ancient heroes, and the honour of having his name handed down to posterity as the deliverer of his country. He allured him, who was

* D'Avaux, 1684, 1685.

† Ibid. March 12, 1684.

young, and sanguine in his friendships and resentments, by the sweets of revenge, and the power he would gain of doing good to those who had suffered for his sake. He took advantage of the hatred and competition usual among relations where friendship has ceased, to revive ancient, to create new animosities. He urged him by motives of his personal safety: "For that James, implacable in his resentments, and cruel through fear, had driven him from England, had prevailed upon the Prince of Orange, and the court of Spain, to refuse him a refuge in Holland, or in Flanders, and would never be at rest, until he had stript him of fortune, rank, and perhaps of life. And, lastly, that, every minute he delayed the attempt, he strengthened his enemy, and weakened himself." The Duke continued long irresolute: One of his letters † to Spence, secretary to the Earl of Argyle, shews, that, disappointed in ambition, and dejected with misfortunes, he had resolved upon retirement. The tender passion he had for lady Harriot Wentworth, and which he accounted it honourable to indulge for a woman who had sacrificed her all for his love, was ill suited to call him to the fields of glory and danger. But at length those importunities, and that eloquence, which, in one of a manly spirit, who speaks in his cause what he feels, seldom fails to persuade, made Monmouth, who all his life was more apt to trust the judgment of others than his own, yield to the intreaties of Argyle. Argyle persuaded a widow in Holland to lend him 10,000 l. for his expedition. Monmouth, not having the same powers of persuasion, was obliged to pawn his jewels. Each of them bought three vessels, and a quantity of arms: They recalled some of their friends from the German regiments, in which the Prince of Orange had placed them; and they were joined by other disbanded officers, who had not as yet been provided for ‡. They settled a correspondence in England ||, as well as the shortness of the time would permit, with the most considerable persons who had engaged in the Rye-house-plot. These were all the preparations they made for the conquest of three kingdoms. It does not appear certain, that they even adjusted between them, what character the Duke should assume, whether that of a King, or of a subject. Mon-

* Pere Orleans, lib. vi. p. 562.
May 17.

|| Lord Grey.

† In Welwood.

‡ D'Avaux,

mouth possibly resolved to govern himself by incidents according as they should present themselves; and Argyle was too much heated by his own interest and his country's, to attend to any other. Argyle sailed first for Scotland, and with about 100 companions, of whom the most remarkable were Ayloff the lawyer, and Rumbold the maltster, men made famous by the parts they had acted in the Rye-house-plot. Monmouth prepared to follow him, and to land in the west of England with 82 officers, and 150 other attendants. Lord Grey, Sir Patrick Hume, and Mr. Fletcher of Salton, were the men of the most eminence who attended him. Trenchard†, Wildman, and Captain Matthews, son-in-law to the unfortunate Sir Thomas Armstrong, were to join him the moment he landed. But the person in whom the Duke of Monmouth chiefly confided, was Mr. Fletcher of Salton; in whom all the powers of the soldier, the orator, and the scholar, were united; and who, in ancient Rome, would have been the rival and the friend of Cato ‡. Fletcher dissuaded the Duke from this enterprize. Lord Grey urged him to it ||.

Indifference
of the Prince
of Orange.

THESE preparations made a considerable noise even in Holland: But, as rumours increase by the distance they have to run, they made a much greater in England. James, therefore, applied, by Skelton his ambassador, to the magistracy of Amsterdam, and afterwards to the States General, to stop the embarkation of Monmouth †. But both, under pretence of the forms of office, connived at his escape; either from dislike to James, whose connection with France they dreaded, or from respect to that refuge which they profess to afford to the unfortunate of all nations. The Prince interfered not, excusing himself, because his assistance was not asked, and perhaps not displeased to see one expose himself to ruin who had been rival to the Princess for the succession, the English tried in a cause which was given out to be that of religion and liberty, and disturbances raised which he might himself be called to compose. He even pretended to

† He was secretary of state to King William.

‡ The small volume of Mr. Fletcher's works, though imperfectly collected, is one of the very few classical compositions in the English language.

|| Burnet. Ferguson's narrative.

† D'Avaux, May 10, 11, 19, June 28.

Skelton, that he gave no credit to the reports of the projects of Argyle and Monmouth, although he knew that the one was gone, and the other just ready to go. James then insisted with the Dutch to seize all the British rebels who had at any time taken refuge in their territories. But * Fagel in public, and the Prince in private, opposed the success of the application. James, in the last place, applied to the Prince for the assistance of the British regiments in the service of the Dutch. The Prince †, without giving a refusal, threw difficulties and delays in the way: soon after, he offered to go himself into England, with his own guards; but received this ambiguous answer, "That it was more for the King's interest he should remain where he "was ‡." The representation of these things by Skelton, who was personally || an enemy to the Prince of Orange, and still more by the French court to James, completed the breach between him and his son-in-law.

In the mean time, Argyle had landed in Scotland, in May 1685, and published two manifestos. One of them was in his own name, complained of his own injuries, and was intended to rouse his tribe in his cause. The other was in his name and that of his followers, and was calculated to bring the covenanters to his standard: For it imputed the misfortunes of the nation to the breach of the national covenant; maintained, that the King, by not complying with it, had forfeited the crown; and declared, that the chief end of his expedition was the suppression of prelacy as well as of popery. This enterprise was unfortunate in almost all its circumstances. The first land he touched at, the Orkneys, was the most distant part of the country he intended to invade: The people, whom he put on shore for intelligence, were seized, and gave advice of his arrival before he could land: in sailing round to the west highlands, tides and winds, even though favourable, consumed time: Government had leisure to make its preparations: And as it was known he would land on the west coast, where both his family-strength, and that of the covenanters, lay, two ships of war were stationed there, to watch his motions: The

Argyle's expedition.

* D'Avaux, June 7, 1685.

† Ibid. May 24. 31.

‡ Orleans.

|| This appears strongly from his correspondence from France, in the paper-office.

MEMOIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN

PART I.
Book II.

1695.

Memorandum
of the

whole militia of the kingdom, consisting of 22,000 men, was put in arms; and a third of it, with 3000 regular forces, was drawn to that side: Such of his friends as were suspected, and could be found, were seized by order of the council: The King, by his proclamations, and more by the known severity of his temper, deterred, and the parliament, by the authority of its declarations, overawed the covenanters, rebellious, yet not daring to rebel. The Earl, however, was soon joined in his own country by about 2000 of his vassals and dependents, who foresaw the ruin, but, according to the manners of their country, were ashamed that their chieftain should fall alone. About 500 other people joined these. Argyle, ignorant of the imprisonment of his friends, and of the terrors of the covenanters, continued, for some weeks after his arrival, in Argyleshire and its borders, rather bustling than in action. But, perceiving, by the movements and stations of his opponents, that they intended to confine him where he was, and impatient to join the covenanters, or to be joined by them, he pierced, in the face of his enemies, into the lower parts of the west country. But his ships were taken, in which was his ammunition; his provisions were cut off by the numerous parties which surrounded him; such of his soldiers as had joined him from hopes of plunder, or desire of change, dropping away by degrees, discouraged others; and, in one of his marches in Renfrewshire, his guide, mistaking the way, led his army into a bog, where the horses and baggage were lost. In this distress, order ceased; all commanded, none obeyed; every man took his own counsel, and consulted his own safety. His army dispersed. The Earl fled alone to conceal his quality, but resolving, if he was known, to die with his arms in his hands. He was met by two peasants, who called to him to surrender: He fired a pistol at one of them; the other gave him a wound in the head, which made him fall from his horse: He recovered himself, and ran to the river Clyde to swim through: A third attacked him there: The Earl snapped his pistol, but it missed fire: The peasant gave him a blow on the head: He falls, and, in falling, cries out, "Unfortunate Argyle!" Struck with the reverse of his fate, one of the peasants wept, and insisted to allow him to escape: But the others, terrified by the threats which had been published against those who

should give him harbour, refused their consent. He was beheaded in pursuance of his former sentence, dying with a courage which his posterity inherited.*

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

A FEW days before the disaster of Argyle's army, the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire. In his manifesto, he declared the ends of his enterprize to be, that parliaments should be annual, and without a power of prorogation in the crown until grievances should be redressed: That sheriffs should be chosen annually by the freeholders: That a national militia should be established, to be commanded by the sheriffs: That no standing forces should be allowed without consent of parliament: And that the charters of corporations should be restored. Thus, while the Scottish manifesto made provision only for a particular mode of the protestant religion, the English manifesto was directed to the great interests of civil liberty. But even these generous proposals were disagreeable to the friends of monarchy; because they seemed to impair it too much. The manifesto, in other respects, was imprudent. By complaining to excess of the proceedings of the parliament which was then sitting, it provoked the members of that assembly; by giving insinuations of Monmouth's right to the crown, it made the republicans cold in his cause; by promising toleration to all protestant dissenters, at a time when the church and the dissenters were not, as they afterwards were at the revolution, reconciled to each other, it was disobliging to the church. Monmouth, by outrageous invectives, seemed to have forgot both the King's dignity and his own. And his junction of interests with Argyle, who made the covenant the basis of his insurrection, alarmed those who were friends to the constitution in church or state.

Monmouth's
manifesto.

THE Duke was joined by none of the nobility, or gentry of condition, in his operations in England. Some of his friends, whom the Rye-house-plot had easily marked out, were † seized by government; the rest fled to London, as if their presence in rebellious places could be accounted rebellion: Trenchard ‡ even retired into France: All found an excuse for their defection in the faults

Monmouth's
first move-
ments.

* Gazettes. Wuddrow.

† Lord Grey.

‡ Ibid.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

which they found, or pretended to find, in the terms of Monmouth's manifesto. But the common people, whose favourite he had always been, flocked in such multitudes, almost in an instant, to his standard, that he was obliged to dismiss many of them, for want of arms and pay. At first he was in straits for provisions: But Ferguson having assured him, that he would find subsistence for one day for the army, if the Duke would give him the command of it for a minute; and the Duke having consented, Ferguson gave orders, that the soldiers should observe next day as a solemn fast for success. In the mean time, Colonel Danvers, a republican officer, prepared to make an insurrection in the city. Brigadier Hook, the author of the memoirs, who was afterwards pardoned by King James, followed him into France, and became his secretary there, owed to James, when he was seized during Monmouth's rebellion, that Danvers and he had engaged to Monmouth to assassinate him, if they could not bring about the insurrection they meditated.

He loses
Fletcher.

MONMOUTH intended the command of the foot for himself, and that of the horse for Fletcher and Lord Grey. The third day after his arrival, he detached Lord Grey with 300 men to storm Bridport, and Fletcher, with another party, on another expedition. Lord Grey's party stormed the town with spirit; but he himself deserted his men, fled back to the Duke, and reported they were defeated. News soon came that they were victorious. The Duke, confounded, said to Captain Matthews, "What shall I do with him*?" Matthews answered, "There is not a General in Europe who would ask such a question, but yourself." Yet, modest in his nature, and fearful to offend, the Duke continued Grey in his command. Fletcher, who did not esteem times of danger to be times of ceremony, had, in his expedition, seized, for his own riding, the horse of a country gentleman, which stood ready equipt for its master. The master, hearing this, ran in a passion to Fletcher, gave him opprobrious language, shook his cane, and attempted to strike. Fletcher, though rigid in the duties of morality, yet, having been accustomed to foreign services both by sea and land, in which he had acquired high ideas of the ho-

* Ferguson's narrative.

nour of a soldier and a gentleman, and of the affront of a cane, pulled out his pistol, and shot him dead on the spot. The action was unpopular in counties where such refinements were not understood. A clamour was raised against it amongst the people of the country: In a body they waited on the duke with their complaints; and he was forced to desire the only soldier, and the almost only man of parts in his army, to abandon him. With Fletcher, all Monmouth's chances of success in war left him.

PART I.
BOOK II.
1685.

THE Duke of Monmouth, being accustomed to the formalities observed by regular troops in time of peace, more than to actual war, and not having the genius to see, that, in desperate enterprises, sudden movements strike with terror, but that by delays, men recollect their spirits, and in the variety of these, come to condemn that danger which at first they dreaded, would not permit his adherents, who were 6000 in number, and keenly affected to his cause, to fight the militia under the Duke of Albemarle, who were only 4000 in number, and averse from the interest which they were called to defend. With a view to form his men to discipline, his marches were slow, his rests many: Still, as he advanced, he found the numbers encrease of the commonalty who offered him their service. Some of the inferior gentry too joined him. At Taunton, the people strewed his way with flowers and herbs; followed him with acclamations and prayers; adorned their walls with green boughs; and threw open their houses to his army. Twenty-six young maidens, in the name of the town, presented him, on their knees, with a Bible and a banner. Monmouth, whose sensibility of temper was too apt to receive impressions either of exultation or dejection, was touched with these demonstrations of affection: The present of the Bible he regarded as an omen of his future fortune. Kissing the book, he cried out, "He came to defend the truths contained in it, or to seal them with his blood." And, in this sympathy of mind, he was prevailed upon to yield to the entreaties of many of his followers, who were clamorous that he should be proclaimed King. The argument made use of, and which it was given out had convinced him, was, that the two parties were not upon a level, if, when the one was declared guilty

Monmouth delays, and declares himself king.

June 20.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

of rebellion by royal proclamations, the other could not intimidate its opponents with the same legal weapons. The immediate exertions of his royalty were imprudent. He proclaimed Albemarle a traitor, if he did not lay down his arms: He proclaimed all the members of the parliament traitors, if they did not dissolve themselves. The very generality of the threat defeated its design, by insuring those of impunity whom it meant to intimidate.

James takes
advantage of
Monmouth's
delays.

WHILE Monmouth was engaged in such trifles, the Generals on the King's side had orders to avoid fighting, for the same reasons which should have impelled the Duke to force them to a battle. And, in the mean while, James got time to reinforce his army, to obtain an order for the British regiments in the Dutch service, to increase his army in England to 15,000 men, to receive the assurances of parliament for his defence, and the more solid effects of them, a grant of L. 400,000 for the services of war.

Monmouth
in despair;
he retires.

THE Duke of Monmouth marched towards Bristol, a city abounding in money, arms, stores, and in his own friends, intending to make an attempt upon it, because he was assured of assistance within: But the Duke of Beaufort, having declared to the citizens, that he would set fire to the town, if they made an insurrection, Monmouth is reported to have said, "God forbid, that I should bring the two calamities of sword and fire together upon so noble a city!" and marched towards Bath. Sentiments such as these were not the means, in times of war, to make towns open their gates; and therefore, when he arrived at Bath, and summoned it to surrender, the citizens shut their gates, killed his herald, and returned a defiance.

FROM Bath he returned to Frome, where he received, all at one time, intelligence of Argyle's defeat, of the arrival of the Dutch regiments at Gravesend, and that Lord Feverham, with 3000 regular forces, and 30 pieces of cannon, was in full march to give battle to him, who was furnished with neither. He then, at last, perceived the error of his former delays, and the delusions of his visionary monarchy: He hesitated; now yielding to, and anon struggling

against his despondency; while, on the one hand, he observed the desperate state of his affairs; and, on the other, considered his ruined friends, and the grievousness of his fall, from the estate of a King, to that of a fugitive. He asked advice of all persons who approached him: He called a council of his officers; and, in the mean time, wrote pressing to Danvers, to hasten his operations in the city*. Danvers, pretending to take offence at his assuming the crown, answered, "He was not obliged to keep faith with "one who had broken it with him." But, before this answer arrived, it had been resolved in the council to retire to Bridgewater, in order to wait for a return from Danvers, or to get the better opportunity for a flight beyond seas, if that return should prove unfavourable. Feverham followed him to Bridgewater. In this retreat, the pusillanimous left him; but most of his army, and all the brave part of it, remained with him. Many symptoms they discovered of feeling for him, what they felt not for themselves: A generosity which pierced the tender mind of Monmouth.

At Bridgewater, he mounted to the top of a high tower, to take the last view of a country, which he foresaw he so soon must quit. When there, he espied, by the assistance of glasses, at three miles off, that Feverham's horse and foot at Sedgemoor lay at a distance from each other, and both carelessly encamped, from over-security with respect to a flying enemy. He resolved in an instant to attack them that night in the dark. The plan he formed was prompt and wise: He reserved to himself the attack of the foot who lay nearest him; and ordered Grey, with part of the horse, to make a circuit to a village in which Feverham's cavalry lay, and set fire to the village, in order to distract his cavalry, and with the rest to fall on the back of the infantry, while Monmouth was attacking them in front. Captain Matthews reminded him of Grey's behaviour at Bridport; but, from the easiness and over-delicacy of his nature, he answered, "I will not affront my Lord; what I have given him in "charge is easy to be executed." Grey, by some misconduct, for which he never accounted, miscarried in his attempt against the horse, and fled; so that the Duke of Monmouth had to maintain

Battle of
Sedgemoor.

* Lord Grey.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

the whole attack with his foot. Captain Hucker, who had joined him in England, fired a pistol in advancing, in order to give an alarm to the enemy; and then rode off to take the benefit of the King's pardon; by which accident Feverham's army received the charge, not unprepared. The Duke's irregulars found a ditch before the royalists, which they did not expect; but forced their way over it, and attacked with intrepidity. Feverham's troops, as often happens in combats with an irregular army, at first gave way, all except Lord Dumbarton's companies of Scotch: But the Duke, by his care to keep his men in order, and to make them fire with regularity, instead of rushing into the ranks of their enemies with their swords, the only weapons by which the superiority which discipline gives to regular over irregular armies can be avoided, lost the advantage: The enemy rallied. At this fight, the Duke's followers lost all regard to the orders of their General. Every man pressed where he thought his presence was most needed, but chiefly where he espied the bravest of his friends; using sometimes the musket, sometimes the sword, and often, in the fury of civil dissention, grappling with the body, when weapons failed. But, finding they made little impression, by this desultory engagement, they formed themselves into a solid body; and, laying their shoulders close to each other, and every man encouraging his neighbour, they advanced, stopped, fought, and died together. In this various kind of battle, they maintained their attack for three hours; every soldier and officer behaving as if the fate of the battle depended on his single arm, and not on the army to which he belonged. At length, Feverham's cannon were brought to bear on one of the Duke's flanks, making the greater impression on account of the thick order into which his men had gathered themselves; and, at the same time, the horse, wearied with pursuing Grey, returned, and fell on his rear. Yet his soldiers, although one third of them were fallen, bore these redoubled disadvantages, until all their ammunition was spent; and even then rather ceased to fight, than to keep their ground. The Duke fled; his army only retreated. He galloped from the field of battle for twenty miles together, not knowing where he was going: And then quitted his horse, not resolved where to go.

Two days after, he was taken without resistance, near Ringwood in Dorsetshire, lying in a ditch, covered with ferns, in the habit of a peasant: Some green pease, on which he had supported life, were found in his pocket, together with his George of Diamonds. He had not slept for three nights: From exhaustion of spirits, he fainted and wept*.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.
Monmouth
taken.

WHEN Monmouth was taken, he wrote a letter to James, pressing earnestly to be brought into his presence; and assuring him, that he had a secret of the utmost consequence to his safety to communicate, but which could be imparted only to himself. This letter has given occasion for various conjectures. It cannot be doubted, that the Prince of Orange might have stopped the preparations of Monmouth: And D'Avaux, so late as the 17th of April, wrote to his court, that he had discovered a secret correspondence of letters between Monmouth and Bentinck the Prince's favourite†. On the contrary, Monmouth's letter to James‡, disproves the imputation

Account of
Monmouth's
letter to the
King.

* Gazettes. Ralph with the authorities he refers to.

† Father Orleans relates, that Skelton, the English envoy in Holland, found the correspondence between Monmouth and Bentinck amongst Monmouth's papers. The authority of Orleans is in general ambiguous; for, on the one hand, there is no doubt he got many facts from King James's mouth; but, on the other, when that Prince read his book, he said "Cela ne vaut pas grandes choses;" and therefore, in order to try so capital a fact by the truest test, that of original papers, I went to the paper office for Skelton's correspondence with Sunderland; but Skelton's letters from Holland at this time have not been sent by Sunderland to the secretary's office. The reason of which, as well as of some other chasms in the foreign correspondence of that Lord, at an equally critical period, will be seen in a subsequent part of these memoirs.

Lord Grey, who had been engaged in a plot to seize Charles II.'s person during the sitting of the Oxford parliament, in the Rye-house plot, and in Monmouth's rebellion, whilst he was a prisoner in the tower for the last of these crimes, wrote a relation of his treasons by Sunderland's command, for the use of King James. In this relation, he makes no mention of the connection between Monmouth and Bentinck. Some ill-natured people impute, to the prudence of this silence, the pardon which Sunderland obtained for him from King James, and the earldom and great offices bestowed upon him by King William.

‡ It is in Ralph, 883.

PART I.
BOOK II.
1685.

of any personal concert between the Prince of Orange and him: For in that letter he appeals to the Prince and Princess of Orange, that he had often given them assurances, he would never act against the King, and lays his own breach of duty upon the instigations of others. But there is good reason to believe, that the secret to which he alluded, was the correspondence which Sunderland held with the Prince of Orange, and that he had himself been encouraged by Sunderland to his fatal enterprize *. Sheldon, of the King's chamber, brother to General Sheldon, related to many, after the revolution, a story, the truth of which James also vouched: Sheldon having been sent by the King to the army with a message to Lord Feverham, concerning his prisoner, which Monmouth thought a kind one, Monmouth desired Sheldon to communicate those two secrets to his master: While Sheldon was beginning to inform James of what had passed, Sunderland came into the closet. Sheldon stopped: James bade him go on: Sheldon answered, he had a message from Monmouth, which could be delivered only in private. But James insisting, that Sunderland should be privy to every thing, which passed between him and the Duke of Monmouth, Sheldon obeyed. Sunderland throwing himself upon his knee, cried out with emotion, "Your Majesty sees to what calumnies I am exposed, by my zeal for your service." It is equally certain, that James, during his exile, believed, that, after he had consented to see Monmouth, Sunderland sent Monmouth a private message, in which he informed him, that the King's consenting to see him arose from his resolution to pardon him, and in which he advised him not to hurt his own honour by betraying his friends when there was no necessity for it, but to pretend a desire of changing his religion, to give satisfaction to the King.

The King
sees him.
July 14.

THE day after Monmouth arrived at the tower, he was carried by water to the presence chamber at Whitehall. He threw himself at the king's feet, owned the greatness of his offence, and with

* What Sunderland's reasons were for advising Monmouth to so wild an attempt, may be known in future ages; at present there are no historical lights to clear up the mist.

many tears begged his life; reminding James, "That, in shedding his nephew's blood, he shed his own." A commemoration of connection, which, in the hour of friendship, would have given pleasure, now increased the aversion of the King; and he heard and saw his agonies with a stern insensibility. The Duke offered to become catholic; a flattery which provoked James, by supposing he could be the dupe of it. He communicated no secret; and James believed he had none to communicate: All was silence for a while on the King's part. Yet, from that silence, the Duke derived hopes. These hopes increased, when he was desired to sign a declaration, importing, that the late King had assured him he was never married to his mother. He obeyed: James then desired him to name all his accomplices; and, when he hesitated, loaded him with reproaches. The Duke, in a transport of passion, starts from the ground, and quits the royal presence with the air of an equal.

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WHEN he came back to the tower, the love of life returned: He asked for paper, pen and ink, to write again to his uncle. Scott, of Dunbarton's regiment, one of the officers who guarded him, told him, that he had orders not to permit him to write: But upon the Duke's repeating earnestly his request, Scott, who was of the Duchess of Monmouth's family, consented. Monmouth, in this letter, again warned the King against Sunderland. But Blood, who had an office in the tower, either the same man who had stolen the crown in the late reign, or his son, suspecting Scott from his continuing so long alone with the Duke, forced him, by menaces, to deliver up the letter*, and carried it to Sunderland, who destroyed it. Orders were given for the Duke's execution next day. Monmouth, rendered impatient by the flatteries of a fortune-teller, who assured him, that if he outlived that day, he was designed by Providence for great things, wrote a third letter to James, to beg a short respite of his execution. This letter was delivered by Sunderland, but the prayer of it was refused.

Account of
his other
letters to
the King.

* Scott was of Mr. Scott of Harden's family. He was afterwards a Colonel in the French service. There are men now living in Scotland to whom he told this story.

PART I.
BOOK II.1685.
Anecdotes.

THE Duke discovered compunction for the neglect with which he had treated his lady, who, though not beautiful, had wit and tenderness, and had brought him one of the greatest fortunes in Europe; and he desired to see her alone. Affecting distance from his treasons, and regard for her children, but, in reality, stung with slighted love, even in death, she refused to see him, unless witnesses were present. Yet, by the tenderness of her affection, and her repeated applications for mercy, she performed every duty of a wife and a friend. It is a family report, that, on the morning of her husband's execution, James sent her a message, that he would breakfast with her. She admitted the visit, believing a pardon was to attend it. James behaved with fondness to her children, and delivered her a grant, of her great family estate, which had fallen to the crown by her husband's attainder: Strange mixture of indelicacy and generosity!

Monmouth's
execution.
15th July.

MONMOUTH was not condemned by the Judges, lest the sight of him in a court might excite commiseration. At his execution, the spectators were innumerable. On his first appearance upon the scaffold, he bowed to the people, by whom, he knew, he was tenderly beloved; but, from regard to the decorum of his rank, addressed them not. Deep silences succeeded alternately to murmurs of sighs and groans in the spectators, who felt their grief restrained by respect, when they looked upon Monmouth; but burst into tears, as oft as they beheld the sorrowful looks of each other. Men of rank are more afraid of pain than of death, and of shame than of either: He expressed anxiety lest the executioner should not end his life at a blow, examining the ax to satisfy himself; and said, "He was afraid to die." Yet asked, "Could any one perceive it by his countenance?" The executioner, awed by the rank of his victim, after several ineffectual strokes, threw away the ax, and could with difficulty be prevailed on to complete his duty. The people, in their tears and prayers, and the contortions of their bodies, seemed to feel those strokes which the Duke no longer felt. Those, who considered the various turns of human things, reflected, that the multitudes who attended his execution would, in a different situation of his fortune, have been shouting after the wheels of his chariot.

The decent courage with which he died shewed how much force the sentiments of personal dignity have over those of nature, in men of illustrious birth. In his pockets, after his death, were found spells against danger, songs, and prayers, in his own hand-writing; papers characteristic of a mind addicted to ambition, pleasure, and superstition. The fondness of the common people followed Monmouth even beyond the grave: They believed, that one of his friends, resembling him, had consented to lose his life in public, to save that of Monmouth. They started at every rumour of his name: And long expected with impatience when their favourite should again call them to assert his cause and their own. Lord Dartmouth, by order of James, attended the execution. When he gave an account of it to the king, he said, "You have got rid of one enemy, but a more dangerous one remains behind." James pretended not to understand that his son-in-law was alluded to; yet the words sunk deep into his mind.

Two relations were printed by the King's authority; one of the manner of Monmouth's falling into the hands of those who pursued him, and the other of his execution, the last of which was signed by the bishops who attended him. In these was described every thing which Monmouth had said or done, during those painful periods. Here, it was said, "he had taken shelter in a covert, surrounded with hedges, but full of outlets to the open country: Of these outlets, the guards had taken possession: So that as often as he approached them, which was thirty times, he had been driven back into his concealments." There, it was said, "The bishops had pressed him to repent of his connection with Lady Herriot Wentworth; but he had treated his passion for that Lady as a matter of respect; and the last act of his life was to send her a love-token. The bishops had pressed him to own on the scaffold to the people, the doctrine of non-resistance; but he answered, He came there to die, not to make speeches. They urged him to pray himself for the King, but he kept silent: They asked him to join in their prayer for the King; with a careless air he said, Amen." Men were astonished to see, that the person who had the most interest, in decency, to draw a veil over the

A relation of Monmouth's misery published by the King.

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State of par-
liament.

agonies of his nephew, was the most anxious to discover them. These things struck the nation with impressions of the severity of James's character. A saying of Ayloffé was every where repeated: Ayloffé had stabbed himself in Scotland to escape punishment; but, having recovered, was brought into the royal presence, in hopes that discoveries might be drawn from him. James pressed him to a confession, saying, "You know, Mr. Ayloffé, it is in my power to give you a pardon, therefore say that which may deserve it." Ayloffé answered, "Though it is in your power, it is not in your nature to pardon."

A few days after Argyle had landed in Scotland, the parliaments of England and Scotland had assembled. From the respect naturally paid to a new reign, with the hopes it inspires, and the fears it impresses, most of the members returned, were men who were thought to be agreeable to the court; yet the anxiety of the people had mingled with * them a great number of the popular party. Those, by their principles, should have been inclined to promote, and these to oppose the views of the King. But this parliament exhibited a state of parties, that had never before been seen in England. Under protestant Princes, the interests of the King and of the church having been the same, the friends of both were united in favour of the crown; a connection which produced the saying of James I. "No Bishop, no King." But, under a Prince who publicly professed the popish religion, many of the tories smothered their attachment to monarchy, and their antipathy to popular innovations, in their fears for religion: And hence, in this parliament, the distinction between a state-tory and a church-tory first appeared in public. Many of the whig members, on the other hand, hoped, by making reasonable concessions to the crown, to gain the King to his people, and reconcile him to themselves †.

* Vide the list in Eachard, p. 744. and the Duke of Monmouth's letter in Welwood, p. 378.

† The Duke of Monmouth's letter to his confident Spence, contains these words: "It's to me a vain argument, that our enemies are scarce yet well settled, when you

THE ambiguity of James's intentions in the few steps he had taken; the hopes raised by some of them; the jealousies not removed by others; produced an anxiety in the minds of all men, to hear the first words of their sovereign from the throne, to the great council of the nation. James being graceful in speech and in figure, all eyes were fixed upon him when he prepared to speak; but uncertain of his sentiments, his subjects checked the natural effusions of favour to dignity and majesty, until they should hear what he was to say. He began with repeating, and pathetically, the same words he had made use of on the first day of his reign, in his declaration to his privy council, to maintain the established laws and religion: The audience looked with joy and with pride, alternately on their sovereign and on each other. He then urged reasons of state, for the settlement of the late King's revenue upon himself: Murmurs of assent were heard through the hall. But when he concluded with hints so strongly marked, that they were in reality threats of governing by prerogative, and not by parliaments, if that revenue was denied, the looks of men, which in popular assemblies can never be disguised, sunk at once into disappointment and dejection. His concluding words were these: "There is one popular argument which I foresee may be used against what I seek of you, from the inclination men may have for frequent parliaments, which some may think would be the best secured, by feeding me from time to time by such proportions as they shall think convenient: And this argument, (it being the first time I speak to you from the throne), I will answer once for all: That this would be a very improper method to take with me; and that the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well. I expect, therefore, that you will comply with me in what I have desired, and that you will do it speedily, that this may be a short session, and that we may meet again to all our satisfactions."

"consider, That fear in some, and ambition in others, have brought them to comply; and that the parliament being made up for the most part of members that formerly run our enemy down, they will be ready to make their peace as soon as they can, rather than hazard themselves upon an uncertain bottom."

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BOOK II.

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Revenue
settled.

THE leaders of the different parties in parliament, however, had gone too far in the communication of their sentiments and intentions, to be able to retract: The Tories urged the interests of the crown, for the settlement of the revenue: The Whigs perhaps flattered themselves, that, in granting with frankness what they were not able to withhold, they would throw the greater odium upon the King, if, in return for parliamentary confidence, he should make any invasion upon the civil or religious institutions established by parliament. All were sensible, that the necessity of the late King had obliged him to apply to France for relief. Many were pleased with the report at that time industriously spread about, that James had detached himself from Louis XIV. and joined interests with the Prince of Orange. And some were afraid lest their opposition might be construed into an inclination to favour the projects of Monmouth and Argyle. The house of commons, therefore, voted the settlement of the late King's revenue, amounting to L. 1,200,000 upon James during life, on the same day that he asked it; and, soon after, upon his application for a further provision for public uses, they revived some old, granted some new impositions, and settled both upon him for life. By these grants, added to his own settlement as Duke of York, he was possessed of an annual revenue of two millions a year, besides the revenues of Scotland and Ireland: A revenue greater than any King of England had possessed from the time of William the conqueror's death.

Dispute
about reli-
gion.

BUT, though the commons discovered so much confidence in the King in money matters, some distrust of him appeared with regard to religion*: A motion was made for the further security of the protestant religion: It was referred to the grand committee for religion: The committee, when very full, resolved unanimously to move the house, "to stand by the King in the support and defence of the reformed religion of the church of England, with their lives and fortunes;" and to address him, "to put the laws in execution against all dissenters whatsoever from the church of England." The court opposed the motion: A vehement debate ensued. But the

* Journ. h. of commons, May 27.

dispute was compromised by a resolution of the house; which, at the same time, that it paid the King the compliment of an unbounded confidence, was meant to intimate to him, the firm attachment of those who framed it to the religion of their country. The resolution was in these words: "That the house relies on his Majesty's word and repeated declaration, to support and defend the religion of the church of England, as it is now by law established, which is dearer to us than our lives." Lest the last words of this resolution should not make sufficient impression on James, the speaker, when he presented the revenue-bill, remarked, that the commons had passed that bill, without joining any bill to it, for the security of their religion, though *that was dearer to them than their lives*. James took no notice of these words, either in the address of the commons, or in the speech of their speaker.

In the house of Lords, an attempt was made to please the King, in a way of all others the most agreeable to him. Oates had lately been pilloried, whipped, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in consequence of a clear proof, that he had perjured himself in the evidence which he gave in the late reign, in support of the popish plot. Upon this, a motion was made in the house of Lords, to reverse the attainder of Lord Stafford, because, by the conviction of Oates, it was now become plain, that the evidence, on which Stafford had been condemned, was false, and even the popish plot itself a mere fiction. The principles of mercy, justice, and religion, called aloud for reparation to Stafford's memory and family: On the other hand; that reparation could not be made, without throwing disgrace upon four succeeding parliaments, which had prosecuted and punished the plot as a reality, and upon the whole party of the whigs, and many of the tories. The debate lasted three days in the house of Lords. Honour prevailed in men of noble birth, and they voted to reverse the attainder: But prudential considerations prevailed among the commons: Reflecting, that no popish victories could with safety be indulged in a popish reign, they received the

The houses differ about the reversal of Stafford's attainder.

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Excess of
loyalty in
Scottish par-
liament.

bill with coldness; after the first reading, it was dropped: Soon after, the parliament was adjourned until winter.

BUT, while the members of the English parliament were taking delicate and guarded measures, to gain their sovereign, and yet not to lose their own characters, the parliament of Scotland, which met a little before that of England, rushed into servility, with a promptitude which lessened, even in the King's eyes, the value of the compliment, and with an affectation of zeal which created in the public a suspicion of its sincerity. In proportion as any man was high in his birth, or station, or even character, he strove for expressions of flattery, and motions of servility: Men of inferior figure vied with each other, who should be the first to propose, what had not been thought of by their superiors; lest they should appear to have been only led, in the general surrender, which they foresaw was to be made of their country's rights. James, in his letter to the parliament, made a distinction between them and his English subjects, which could not be pleasing to the latter. For he said, that he had called them together "to give them an opportunity, not only of showing their duty as formerly to him, but of being *exemplary to others*, in their compliance with his desires:" And, to make his meaning plain to both nations, when he spoke of the extent of his prerogative, he added these words, "Which I am resolved to maintain in its greatest lustre." The Lord Chancellor Perth concluded his speech, with exhorting the parliament to advance the greatness of the King, "by all the endeavours of their lives, without reserve." As the terms which men made use of in public, when they spoke of the state or prerogative of the crown, were at that time marked, because they were the tokens of party-sentiments, it was observed how similar these words *Without reserve*, were to the conclusion of the Oxford address, which promised obedience to the King, *without any restrictions or limitations*. The speech of the duke of Queensberry, the King's commissioner, and the tone of all those who could be supposed to speak the language of the court, were full of promises to the national interest, and of flattery to the national character of the Scotch.

THE Scotch, in this parliament, renewed the laws against protestant dissenters, and added new severities to them: They extended the laws of treason: They obliged all the subjects, under high penalties, to take the oath of allegiance, which maintained the doctrine of passive obedience; an oath, which, in the late reign, had been imposed only on persons in public trust: They settled the late King's revenue upon the crown for ever; and gave James a new one during his own life: They passed an act, in which it was said, "The blessings the nation then enjoyed, were owing to the *solid* " *absolute authority* wherewith their Kings were invested, by the " first and fundamental laws of their monarchy." In this act, "They " expressed their abhorrence of all principles which are contrary or " derogatory to the King's *sacred, supreme, absolute power and autho-* " *rity.*" And they resolved "to give entire obedience to the King, " *without reserve.*" But the act contained something more solid than the expression of principles: For it obliged all the men in the nation, from sixteen to sixty, "to be in readiness to attend the King in arms, where, and as oft as he should require."

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THE noise of this excess of loyalty in the parliament of Scotland, soon reached England, creating every where jealousies and fear. But these proceedings of the Scotch parliament were found, and no more. By the constitution of that assembly, it was no representation of the sentiments of the great body of the nation; because the commons made no separate assembly. By the forms in which business was conducted, its acts were not even representations of its own sentiments; because the Lords of articles had a negative before debate*. But the sentiments of the Scottish nation were far different from those expressed to the public in the proceedings of this parliament. Many, in the higher ranks of the nation, reflected upon the independence of their ancestors, national glories, their own importance lost. The lower orders of the people, which consisted mostly of presbyterians, cherished in their breasts secret and deliberate revenge for the punishment of their

Sentiments
of the Scot-
tish nation.

* Vide an account of the constitution of the Lords of articles in Part 2d of these memoirs.

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persons, and the proscription of their religion. The presbyterian clergy, who alone were popular, oppressed by the government, but supported by the people, found their pleasure and their interest in complaining. So that, with the appearance of a whole nation, and a warlike one, at James's feet, the only persons in whom he could confide in Scotland, were the personal friends he had gained whilst he resided there*; and these indeed were numerous and firm; the Roman Catholics who were few in number; and the servants of the crown; and, in many of these last, he could no longer confide, than it was for their interest to support him. These proceedings in Scotland, therefore, only betrayed to the English the inclinations and views of James, but gave no additional strength to that monarch.

Kirk's cruelty in the west.

WHILE the parliaments of both kingdoms were, in the capitals, vying with each other, in giving proofs of their affection to the King, scenes of a very different nature were passing in the remoter counties of England. Feverham, after Monmouth's defeat, hanged up, without any trial, twenty prisoners; and Colonel Kirk, nineteen. Kirk, with a savage refinement, made a sport of the murders he committed. Having a gallows erected at his door, he was in use, while drinking with his companions, to order the execution of his prisoners to accompany the glass that was drunk to the health of the King, or the Queen, or Judge Jeffreys. When he saw the feet of the dying shake, in the last agonies of departing life, he said, "They should have music to their dancing;" and

* James gained numbers of the Scotch by familiarity. He had long disgusted them by his distance: The change in his manners was owing to an accident: When the Dutchess of York came first to Scotland, she one day observed three covers upon the dining-table. She asked the Duke for whom the third cover was intended? He answered, For General Dalziel, whom he had asked to dine with him. The Dutchess refused to permit a private gentleman to sit at table with her. Dalziel, who had been in the imperial service, entered the room in the mean time; and, hearing the scruples of the Dutchess, told her, he had dined at a table where her father had stood at his back; alluding to the Duke of Modena's being a vassal of the Emperor. The Dutchess felt the reproof, and advised her husband not to offend the pride of proud men.

ordered his trumpets to sound, and his drums to strike up. He let loose his soldiers to live on free quarter in the country, without distinction between the innocent and the guilty; and these instruments of his violence he named, in derision, "His lambs." These proceedings were, in the eye of law, robberies and murders; yet, in the violence of civil rage, neither the court nor the officers of the law took notice of them.

JEFFREYS, now ennobled, was the judge who tried the prisoners on the western circuit: A man cruel in his temper, brutal in his manner, and a contemner of every thing that is decent. A power was given to him in his commission, to command the forces of the west; so that the terrors both of the law and of the sword were united in his person. In this circuit, he shed that blood with pleasure, which the law intends should be shed with pain. In his preliminary charge to the grand jury at Dorchester, where he first opened the trials, he charged them to inquire after "not only all principals," but "all *aiders and abettors* of those who had "been concerned in the rebellion:" A charge which moulded the jury-men to his will, by the consideration of their personal safeties; because there were few of them who had not given refuge to their friends or relations in distress. He pressed the prisoners to confess, "to save himself trouble," as he expressed it. And some of those who resisted his entreaties, and were found guilty, he ordered to be executed the same day, in order to intimidate others from following their example. His officers had orders to prevail upon the prisoners to confess, with promises of pardon: When the prisoners adhered in court to their confession, they were condemned to be hanged: When they retracted, these officers were evidences at hand to prove the confession. Bragg, an attorney, having been found guilty, Jeffreys declared with a jest, "That, if any lawyer "or parson came in his way, they should not escape him." One of the prisoners moving an objection to a witness, Jeffreys interrupted him with these words: "Villain, rebel, methinks I see "thee already with a halter round thy neck." The evidence against Mr. Hewling being doubtful, the justice of peace, who had given information against him, remarked it to Jeffreys, and inter-

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cruelty.

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ceeded in his behalf. Jeffreys answered, "You have brought him on; if he be innocent, his blood be upon you." When this gentleman's sisters * hung on the wheels of his coach, to beg mercy for their brother, he ordered his coachman to cut their arms and hands with his whip. The Mayor of Tawnton interposed with Jeffreys for Speke, a gentleman in whose case there were circumstances of favour. "No," cried Jeffreys, with a violent motion of his arm, "his family owes a life, and he shall die for the sake of his name." Yet one of Jeffreys's executions escaped censure. Hucker, who had given the alarm to Feverham's army, when Monmouth was advancing upon it, pleaded his treachery in alleviation of his rebellion: But Jeffreys told him, "He deserved a double death; one for rebelling against his sovereign, and the other for betraying his friends †."

Execution
of Lady
Lisle, and
Mrs. Gaunt.

In the course of these trials, a sad spectacle was exhibited: Two women were condemned to be burnt alive, for indulging the sweetest of female virtues, compassion for the distressed. Mrs. Gaunt, a tradeswoman in the city, had formerly saved the life of one of her neighbours, named Burton, who had been engaged in the Rye-house-plot, by getting him conveyed beyond sea. This man having escaped from the battle in which Monmouth was defeated, she prepared a second time to shew him the same kindness, and supplied him with money besides. Burton, being afraid that his escape beyond sea might be prevented, turned upon his benefactress, and became evidence against her. Men of all parties exclaimed, "That the manners were corrupted by the laws; for that perfidy was protected and generosity punished." Lady Lisle had given refuge to Hicks, a dissenting clergyman who had begged the protection of her house, and trusted his life in her hands. She was widow to Lord Lisle, one of the regicides, who, on that account, had been assassinated in Switzerland. She was taken by Colonel Penruddock, whose father had been adjudged to death by Lord Lisle, for his at-

* Granger biog. hist. v. 2. p. 543.

† A lady interceded on her knees for the life of Mr. Battison her lover: Jeffreys answered, "When he is quartered, you shall have that part of his body which I know you like best." Ralph, with the authorities he quotes.

attachment to the royal cause. With equal spirit and tenderness, though above seventy years of age, she exclaimed at her trial and execution, "I once thought as little of being brought to this place as any one here. The person whom I received under my roof, was convicted by no sentence, was mentioned in no proclamation; how then could I know I was obnoxious to the law in receiving him? My own principles have ever been loyal. None in England shed more tears for the death of the King's father than I did. If I could have ventured my life for any thing, it would have been to serve the present King: But, although I could not fight for him, my son did, against the Duke of Monmouth. I sent the son to atone for the offences of the father: It was I who bred him up to fight for his Sovereign: With my last breath I will bless that life which takes away mine*." Jeffreys, in his charge to the jury, admired the justice of God, which had made Penruddock the instrument of shedding blood for blood. The jury returned into court with doubts, because there was no proof of her knowing, that Hicks had been in the rebel army; but Jeffreys told them, that her receiving him, after she suspected it, was equivalent; and, when they found her guilty, he said †, "If she had been my mother, I would have returned the same verdict against her." Two tory peeresses ‡ applied for her pardon, declaring that she had done favours to their party, in their greatest extremities: But Jeffreys, who thought that her acquittal would imply his own condemnation, had exacted a promise from James not to pardon her, by assuring him, that all her pretensions to loyalty were false: The only favour she obtained, was to be beheaded, not burnt. One thousand were condemned to die; of whom a fourth part fell by the hands of the executioner. The other punishments were numerous and rigid. The marks of vengeance remained, even when it could be exerted no longer: For, in the country-villages where Jeffreys passed, places in which far other shews had been in use to be seen, the heads and limbs of fathers and brothers were exposed upon towers and gibbets, to the view of the inhabitants, who were perhaps themselves the most humbling spectacle of the two. For fear

* Lady Lisle's trial and last speech.

† State trials, 513. vol. 3.

‡ Ibid. 514.

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suspended in them all the duties of nature. In every neighbour they dreaded an informer, and were obliged to hide their grief, lest their loyalty should be doubted. Of all who were brought to trial for Monmouth's rebellion, Lord Delamere was almost the only man who escaped; and this only because, being of noble birth, he was tried by a jury, who scorned to take their directions from Jeffreys. These severities of Jeffreys, frightful even to those to whom he committed their execution, were imputed, at the time, to the barbarity of his temper alone. But other causes of his conduct were brought to light in the next reign*. It was then made appear, that he had exacted a present of L. 15,000 for himself from Mr. Prideaux, a Devonshire gentleman, for not bringing him to a trial.

THE furies of Kirk and Jeffreys seemed at this time to have infected even those of milder professions: Hicks, a clergyman of the church of England, having been entreated to apply for mercy in his brother's behalf, answered coldly, "I cannot speak for a fanatic." Yet some there were who retrieved the national character of humanity: While other men of high figure in the church, were pouring forth their zeal against rebellion at court, Kenne, bishop of Bath and Wells, though unquestionable in his attachment to the King, and who, in proof of it, quitted his bishoprick in the next reign, continued in his diocese † spending days and nights with the prisoners, relieving their wants, although he was poor, and respecting the principles of others, because he had principles himself.

IN Scotland, only two executions followed that of Argyle; because, as there had been no battle, there were few prisoners; because the fidelity of the highlanders to each other prevented informers, and their prejudices to the cause of their chieftain made them proper objects of pity to government; but chiefly because there was no Jeffreys at that time in that country. About 200 were attainted:

* Journals house of commons, Nov. 30, 1689.
† Life of Bishop Kenne, p. 16. and 52.

Most of these took refuge in Holland; and afterwards returned with the Prince of Orange, at the revolution.

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THE excessive rigour of punishment destroyed those morals which it was intended to amend. There is a letter from Rumbold to Walcot, upon the discovery of the Rye-house-plot, still existing*, in which he thanked Walcot for not betraying him. And yet Rumbold, in his last speech at Edinburgh, denied the share he had had in that plot; and his last words were these: "Death is terrible indeed! But to me it has no terrors. With my God I have made my peace: To no man have I done injustice: What then have I to fear†?"

A historian would chuse to draw a veil over the proceedings of Jeffreys, so painful to recite, did they not serve to remind the judges of other ages, that the decorum and dignity of Princes should be mixed with the tenderness of women, in the expression of their manners.

AFTER so many trials for recent, it was thought hard to begin new ones for former offences. Yet Cornish, one of the obnoxious sheriffs of the late reign, and Bateman, who had been surgeon to Shaftesbury, were both executed for their accession to the Rye-house plot. And Lord Grey having consented to become evidence against his friends, which supplied a second witness against Hampden, Hampden was brought to a new trial, accused of high treason, before the same judge, and for the same offence, for which, as a misdemeanor, he had been already tried, convicted, and punished. In despair, he pleaded guilty. It was a sad spectacle to the generous of all parties, to see the grandson of the great Hampden entreating the meanest of mankind to interpose with the King for his life. Satisfied with the humiliation, because it was worse than death, Jeffreys obtained his pardon from James. Lord

Prosecutions
for the Rye-
house-plot.

* This letter is dated August 2, 1683, and is in the paper-office. It laments the bad success of the conspiracy, thanks Walcot for concealing his name, and contains these words: "It is not unknown to any of us, with what zeal and sincerity you led us on, whilst there was any hopes of succeeding." † Woodrow.

PART I.
BOOK II.

1685.

James's apo-
logies for
these cruel-
ties.

Brandon was convicted also of being accessory to the Ryehouse-plot, but pardoned on account of his want of importance.

THE noise of the rigours of the western circuit raised more pity and indignation than fear, in a nation brave, and therefore generous. Those, who were attached to the honour of the King excused him, by saying, That he knew nothing of them, till it was too late. The excuse which James made for himself was, that he had sent other judges with Jeffreys, and also Pollexen, a man connected with the whigs, in quality of council for the crown: And, at an after period of his life, he indulged the strange suspicion that Kirk's share of these cruelties had been committed with a view to make his master odious. It is certain, that *, when Lord Keeper North made complaints of what Jeffreys was doing, James gave orders to stop them; and that † he complained, until the day of his death, of the unpopularity which Kirk and Jeffreys had drawn upon him. It is equally certain, that Jeffreys often followed his own opinion alone, in matters within his department: For, when Major Holmes, who had been engaged in the Ryehouse-plot, and in the late rebellion, was carried before James, that Prince, being struck with his age, his manly look, and more manly manner, told him, he might make himself easy, no harm should befall him: After this, Holmes was often seen in the antichambers at court: But, having been missed for some time, it was found, upon inquiry, that Jeffreys had caused him to be seized secretly in London, and conveyed to the circuit, where he was put to death. The King's enemies, on the other hand, reported, that he was accustomed to repeat the cruelties of Jeffreys, with jocularly, to his courtiers in the circle; and that, in the same strain, he called this circuit, "Jeffreys's campaign." Soon after the return of Jeffreys to London, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor; a promotion which discovered either approbation of his conduct, or too great a contempt of popularity in his master.

* Life of Lord North, p. 260.

† Duke of Buckingham.

‡ Burnet:

B O O K III.

PROSPEROUS Condition of James.—His Speech to the second Session of Parliament.—Parliament roused.—Address of the Commons.—The King's Answer.—The Lords prepare to imitate the Commons.—The Parliament prorogued.—Similar Proceedings in Scottish Parliament.—It is prorogued.—Incampment on Hounslow-heath.

PART I.
BOOK III.

1685.

EVERY thing seemed now to promise a reign of security to James. They who had beheld the first glorious and regular efforts of liberty against Charles the First, were long ago dead. The survivors among the old had only seen the private ambition and anarchy which immediately succeeded. Shaftesbury, Russel, Effex, Sidney, were no more; new characters had not arisen to assume their places; and the spirit of parliamentary opposition in England seemed to have been buried in their graves. The attempt of Monmouth, at the same time that it freed James from a rival, strengthened, like other unsuccessful rebellions, that power which it was meant to overturn. The Prince of Orange was thought to be fully occupied * with the internal divisions of Holland, and the opposition which Louis the XIV. raised against him in his own country. Scotland was more quiet than it had been for a thousand years before. One part of Ireland was submissive to the laws, and the rest of it attached to the interests of James by the ties of a common religion. He was at peace with all his neighbours, and respected by them. At home, one party favoured him, another courted him, both dreaded him; and he possessed, what no King of England, from the time of the two first Norman princes, had done, a

Prosperous
state of
James.

* D'Avaux, vol. 4.

PART I.
BOOK III.

1685.

His speech
to the second
session of
parliament.
Nov. 9.

vast revenue, independent of parliament, and a strong army, depending on himself only.

THIS prosperous state of the King's affairs suggested to him, that he might secure his power for ever, by obtaining the sanction of parliament for the support of a standing army, and for enabling popish officers to serve without being obliged to take the tests against popery. His speech to the parliament, which re-assembled after the suppression of the rebellion, was therefore in a higher tone than he had hitherto assumed. He said, the last rebellion had shown, that a standing army, not the militia, afforded the only solid defence against invasions; that on this account, he had considerably increased his army; that the expence of maintaining it was proportionably increased; and therefore, that an adequate supply was necessary for maintaining it. He continued in the following words. "Let no man take exception, because there are some officers not qualified for their employments, according to the late tests. Most of these gentlemen, I must tell you, are well known to me; and having formerly served with me on several occasions, and always proved the loyalty of their principles by their practice; I think it fit, now, that they should be employed under me: And I will deal plainly with you, that, after having had the benefit of their service in such time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, in case any new rebellion should make them necessary for me." He concluded with warning his parliament against fears and jealousies; an argument which raised both, because it betrayed a consciousness, that he either deserved or expected them.

Parliament
roused.

THIS speech mentioned no other business; and therefore the attention of those to whom it was addressed, became so much the more roused and fixed. Many were yet alive who had seen the subjection under which Cromwell had kept the nation by means of a standing army. Complaints of the growth of popery were become almost habitual against the princes of the Stuart family. And men remembered, with fondness, the expression of Lord Nottingham, when the test-act

was passed in the late reign, that "now the doors were for ever shut
"against popery in England." In an instant, therefore, that parliament,
which had hitherto appeared to have no will but the will of its sove-
reign, became animated with a spirit resembling that of their prede-
cessors in the three late parliaments. The commons, upon their re-
turn from the royal presence to their own house, perceiving, in
each others looks, the consciousness of what they had not time to
communicate in words*, instead of giving thanks immediately for
the King's speech, though a motion was made for that purpose,
put off the consideration of the speech for three days, and in the
mean time adjourned. When they met again †, they indeed voted
a supply, but left the extent of it undetermined until they should re-
ceive satisfaction with regard to the tests; and, with a view to
obviate the King's complaints of the militia, they ordered a bill
for rendering it more useful. Next day, when they were urged
to ascertain the extent of the supply, they resolved by a vote of
183 to 182, to proceed previously to the consideration of that part
of the speech which related to the King's power of dispensing with
the tests; and then agreed upon an address to the King in the
following words: "As to that part of your Majesty's speech, re-
"lating to the officers in the army not qualified for their employ-
"ments, according to an act of parliament made in the 25th year
"of the reign of your royal brother, *Entitled*, An act for prevent-
"ing dangers which may happen from popish recusants; we do,
"out of our bounden duty, humbly represent unto your Ma-
"jesty, that these officers cannot by law be capable of their
"employments, and that the incapacities they bring upon them-
"selves can in no way be taken off but by an act of parliament:
"Therefore, out of that great reverence and duty we owe unto
"your Majesty, who have been graciously pleased to take notice of
"their services, we are preparing a bill to pass both houses, for your
"Royal assent, to indemnify them from the penalties they have now
"incurred: And, because the continuing them in their employ-
"ments may be taken to be a dispensing with that law, without
"an act of parliament, the consequence of which is of the greatest

PART I.
BOOK III.
1685.

Nov. 12.

Address of
commons.

* Journ. house of commons, 9 Nov.

† Ibid. Nov. 12, 13.

PART I.
BOOK III.

1685.

"concern to the rights of all your Majesty's subjects, and to all
 "the laws made for the security of their religion: We, therefore,
 "the knights, citizens, and burgeses, of your Majesty's house of
 "commons, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would
 "be most graciously pleased to give such directions therein, that no
 "apprehensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of your Ma-
 "jesty's most loyal subjects." Words apparently smooth and de-
 cent, but which meant more than they seemed to express. In order
 to give this resolution more weight, the country-party moved to ask
 the concurrence of the Lords: But many of their friends, thinking
 the victory sufficient, or not trusting to a house, which, during a
 century past, had been always attached to the crown, opposed the
 motion; and it was rejected by a vote of 212 to 138*.

THE commons then proceeded to the consideration of the supply.
 The court, by the mouth of Sir John Ernley, chancellor of the
 exchequer, asked L. 1,200,000 for the support of the new raised
 forces, during the term of five years. Some of the country-party
 proposed to give L. 200,000. But the more moderate of both
 sides, judging, that the former proposal gave a parliamentary sanc-
 tion to a standing army, and that the latter implied an affront to
 the King, chose rather to give 700,000 at once, without mention-
 ing the particular service for which it was intended.

The King's
 answer.

THE commons, two days after, carried their address in a body
 to the King. With a violence of gesture, and voice, and look, not
 usual to him, he made the following answer: "Gentlemen, I did
 "not expect such an address from the house of commons: For,
 "having so lately recommended to your consideration, the great
 "advantages a good understanding between us had produced in a
 "very short time, and given you warning of fears and jealousies
 "amongst ourselves, I had reason to hope, that the reputation God
 "had blessed me with in the world would have created and con-
 "firmed a greater confidence in you of me, and of all that I say to
 "you. But, however you proceed on your part, I will be steady

* Journ. h. of commons, Nov. 16.

"in all my promises I have made to you, and be just to my word
"in this, and all my other speeches."

PART I.
BOOK III.

1685.

NEXT day, when the speaker read this answer to the house, there ensued a long and deep silence: A pause more expressive of displeasure than the most animated complaints. But, after some time, the members having recovered themselves, Mr. Wharton, afterwards Lord Wharton, moved for a day to take this answer into consideration. Mr. Cook, a country-gentleman of large fortune, seconded him, using these words: "I hope we are all Englishmen, "and not to be frightened out of our duty, by a few hard words." The court opposed the motion: The house warmed: Lord Preston, having written down Mr. Cook's words as he spoke them, moved to send him to the tower. Mr. Cook's party did not venture to protect him: Neither did they put the motion for considering the King's answer to a vote*: The house discovering in these things, as in the general train of their behaviour, a mixture of firmness, and of fear of the king; a behaviour not to be wondered at in men, many of whom reflected, that they had formerly opposed his right of succeeding to the crown.

THE house of Lords discovered the same mixed conduct, with a little more civility: Without adjourning, as the commons had done, to consider the King's speech, they returned thanks for it † the same day it was made. A sarcasm of Lord Devonshire, which was mistaken for an expression of sincerity, contributed to this: For he said, "That thanks were due to the King, for discovering his intentions so plainly." But, after the spirit of the commons had disclosed itself, Compton, bishop of London, brother to the Earl of Northampton, moved for a day to take the King's speech into consideration, and hinted, that he did so in the name of his brethren. He was supported by Nottingham, Mordaunt, and Hallifax; the last of whom had quitted the King's service, when pressed to concur in his schemes about religion. Jeffreys opposed the motion with his usual insolence; was checked, and sunk under correction: It was a new spectacle in England, to

Lords prepare to imitate the commons.

* Journ. h. of commons, Nov. 18.

† Lord's journals, Nov. 9.

PART I.
BOOK III.

1685.

Parliament
prorogued.Similar pro-
ceedings in
Scottish par-
liament.

see the bishops opposing the King's will, and Jeffreys making apologies. The bishop of London's motion prevailed.

BUT James stopped the effect of this motion: For, in a few days, he prorogued the parliament, after it had sitten eleven days only, and never assembled it again; a prorogation which discovered to the nation, how independent he esteemed himself to be, when he could so easily consent to lose L. 700,000 voted, but not provided for, by the house of commons. Soon after, he dismissed many of his servants and officers, who had voted against his measures; and struck the name of Compton from the council book*.

FROM the Scotch parliament, greater compliance was expected: James, in his letter, recommended to that assembly, "his innocent Roman catholic subjects, who lay under discouragements hardly to be named;" and desired, "they might not be suffered to lie under obligations which their religion could not admit;" words guarded and involved, but which marked, that he wanted the penal laws and the tests provided against Roman Catholics to be repealed. The Lord Commissioner Murray, after promising the Scotch an indemnity, together with a variety of other national favours, in point of commerce with England, France, the Netherlands, Ireland, and their own country, informed the parliament, that the King wanted no supply, and only desired, in return for so many favours, "That they would give ease and security to some of his good subjects of the Roman catholic religion." Words equally ambiguous with those of the King's letter; and which therefore the parliament pretended not to understand. But, when two of the bishops, Ross and Paterfon, proposed a repeal of the test against Roman Catholics, the parliament, which had been so luke-warm the year before in the case of liberty, fired at the name of religion. All that could be obtained was leave to prepare a bill to indulge papists in the private exercise of their religion: And, when the bill was brought into the house, the opposition to it was so violent, that Murray received orders to prorogue the parliament. It shared the same fate with that of England, and met no more.

* Books of privy-council, Decem. 23, 1685.

After the prorogation, Paterfon was made archbishop of Glasgow, and some of the opposing bishops were, in virtue of the King's power of supremacy, removed from their fees. The degree to which the passions of men were heated, by the King's asking favour for Roman Catholics, had made the protestant dissenters overlook that he had asked none for them, although they likewise were suffering as non-conformists. When this was recollected, their displeasure with their own conduct renewed, and increased their displeasure with the King.

PART I.
BOOK III.

1685.
Scottish parliament prorogued.

AFTER the prorogation of the parliaments of England and Scotland, James was the only Prince who, from the time of William the Conqueror, took the only measure which can put it in the power of a King of England to reign independent of parliaments. He established and regulated a perpetual incampment of 12,000 men on Hounslow-heath, under the pretence, common to Princes, of discipline and national defence; but, in reality, in hopes that the soldiers, from the view of their own numbers and strength, might acquire confidence in themselves, and take it from the rest of their fellow-subjects: A dangerous engine of government, which generally subjects the people to the Prince, and the Prince to itself.

Encampment
at Hounslow-
heath.

BOOK IV.

PART I.
BOOK IV.
1686.

SUNDERLAND's Promotion.——Cabal of Seven, and its Plans.——

Dispensing Power asserted.——Roman Catholics brought into Offices.——

Scotland new-modelled.——And Ireland.——Letters Mandatory.——

Sbarpe's Trial.——Sunderland's Intrigues to remove Rochester and

Clarendon.——Sunderland's Ambition disappointed.——Attempts upon

the Possessions of the Church.——Declaration of Indulgence.——At-

tempt to divide the Church and Dissenters.——The King deceived by

Addresses.——His Ideas of Government.——Attempt upon Magda-

lene College.——Bishops Petition, and Consequences of it.——Dispo-

sitions of the Army.——Of the People.——Birth of the Prince of

Wales.

Sunderland
promoted.

THE prorogation of the English parliament was succeeded by the promotion of Sunderland; a promotion which proved fatal to him who bestowed it. Having privately embraced his master's religion, he was appointed President of the council, continued secretary of State, received the garter, and became his first favourite: A man of clear views, of quick decision, of infinite insinuation; who was successively the favourite of three Princes, though of the most opposite characters. He adopted all the partiality of James in favour of Roman Catholics; upon the principles of toleration, of equality, and of the right which, by the law of nature, the Sovereign has to the service of all his subjects, imputing measures to the result of poli-

tical wisdom, which James adopted only from zeal for religion *, and forming into regular plans for execution those ideas which the other was not able to combine. By these means he hoped to continue an absolute minister of an absolute monarch, if the nation should yield to the King; or to assume merit with the Prince of Orange, from having urged James to his ruin, if the nation should rise up against him. The difficulties too in which his expensive way of living continually involved him, made him hope to repair his fortunes in times of innovation and danger. There is good reason to believe, that he enjoyed pensions from the Prince of Orange, Louis the XIV. and James, all at one time; pretending to each of these princes, a separate attention to his interest †.

SUNDERLAND knew well the embarrassment he must expect from Lord Rochester. He therefore complained to James, that Rochester's zeal for the church of England would disappoint all projects in favour of the Roman Catholic religion which were debated in council; and persuaded him, to appoint privately a select council for concerting all measures to be taken which regarded the interests of that religion. The cabal consisted of seven persons: The King, Lord Sunderland, Father Petre a Jesuit, Confessor to the Queen, a man of noble birth, but puffed up with a vanity and ambition, which gave Sunderland an easy hold of him, and the Lords Bellasis, Powis, Arrundel, and Dover, Roman Catholics. The place of its meeting was sometimes at Sunderland's house, and at other times in Chevince's lodgings at Whitehall. Sunderland, soon after, under pretence that all public affairs were so much connected with those of religion, that the two could not be separated, got most of the interests of state committed likewise to this private council. The objects of the cabal were to procure a free admission of Roman Catholics into offices, notwithstanding the tests, and a toleration for their religion, by a suppression of the

Cabal of
seven. Its
plans.

* There are several of his letters in the paper-office, to persons abroad, concerning the interests of the Roman Catholic religion in England.

† After the revolution, Louis the XIV. told James, that Lord Sunderland had a pension from him; and that Sunderland had made him believe, that it was by his master's permission he took it.

PART I.
BOOK IV.
1686.

April.

Dispensing
power assert-
ed.

other penal laws against it. By these means, but chiefly by the distribution of offices, when the tests were removed, James flattered himself, that he would insensibly draw his subjects over to his religion, without the aid of persecution. In their original plans, it was agreed, from a regard to the loyalty of the church of England, that no intrusions should be made into her dignities or possessions: A resolution, however, which was not afterwards adhered to. But a commission, which erected an ecclesiastical commission-court, with powers to punish offences in the clergy, was privately prepared, in order to be opened, if the King's scheme of confounding the distinction between protestants and papists should meet with opposition.

In bringing Roman Catholics into office without taking the tests, James had hitherto endeavoured to get the sanction of parliament on his side; and, in one of his kingdoms, he had aimed at giving protection only to military officers. But, after the establishment of this cabal, he was put in mind of the dispensing power of the crown. It was said, "His brother had twice asserted it to procure a toleration for his Roman Catholic subjects, and must have succeeded, had he not communicated his intentions to parliaments, and, by that means, given them a title to interpose in a branch of prerogative which was inherent in the crown, and independent of them. He might now exert the same power to secure a participation of offices to his Roman Catholic subjects, and, by avoiding his brother's error, avoid his defeats." The scheme of dispensing with the tests had been first suggested by Lord Chief Justice Herbert, in the end of the late reign; and, when Jeffreys was consulted upon it, he confirmed the opinion of Herbert. Charles, however, was afraid to make the experiment. But his successor, who had severely felt the effects of party in parliament in the former part of his life, and who imputed likewise to party the late opposition to his will in the parliaments of England and Scotland, grasped eagerly at the use which he saw might be made of the instrument held forth to him. In order, therefore, to get

April 21.

the law on his side, he founded the judges: Four of them were found refractory; and two of these, Jones, and Montague, were heads of courts. It is reported, that the King said to Jones, "He should have twelve judges of his own opinion;" and that Jones answered, "Twelve judges you may possibly find, Sir, but hardly twelve lawyers." James, thinking that this demur proceeded likewise from the infection of party, removed these four, and placed others more pliant in their seats. A suit was brought against Colonel Hales, a Roman Catholic, at the instance of his coachman, for not taking the test against popery. The Colonel defended himself, by pleading a dispensation from the King. The question was the most important and the most delicate that ever was tried in a court of justice; because the event of it was, to determine whether the constitution of England was, in future ages, to be accounted a limited or an absolute monarchy; and because, on the part of the King, were produced ancient precedents, with the opinions of former lawyers; and in opposition to these, stood the proceedings * of parliaments in the late reign, and the alterations in the nature of the constitution, and in the opinions of men, which at all times have influence upon laws, in spite of the laws themselves. Lord Chief Justice Herbert gave judgment in favour of the defendant; and upon a solemn argument and judgment of the twelve judges, all, except one †, acquiesced in his opinion. This judgement resounded through all parts of England; drew down imprecations upon the judges; confirmed a want of reverence for the laws, one of the worst evils which can befall a nation governed by them; and, cherishing the hopes of a few, filled the rest of the King's subjects with dejection and fears. A saying of Lord Justice Hales was every where repeated: "That the twelve red coats in Westminster-hall were able to do more mischief to the nation, than as many thousands in the field." Those who could not judge of law-arguments, were able enough to perceive, that a dispensing, a suspending, and a repealing power, were the same; and that, if the King could break through one law, he might break through all.

* State trials, vol. 2. p. 800.

† Judge Street.

PART I.
BOOK IV.
1686.

April.

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Dispensing
power asserted.

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* State trials, vol. 2. p. 800.

† Judge Street.

PART I.
BOOK IV.

1686.

Applications for a
repeal of the
tests.

AFTER obtaining this judgement, James applied personally to a great number of the members of parliament, to consent to a parliamentary repeal of the tests: The judges received orders to make the same applications in their circuits: Practices * which first brought the term *Closeting* into the English language. Both were equally unsuccessful. For a sense of honour, and the dread of that reproach which all the new converts incurred from the public, kept many firm to the profession of their religion, whose principles were otherwise loose. Two eminent instances of this appeared in Admiral Herbert and Colonel Kirk. Herbert, though a professed libertine, and a man of unbounded expence, resigned the lucrative offices of vice-admiral and master of the robes, rather than comply with his master's intreaties for the repeal of the tests; and, when Kirk was urged by the King to turn catholic, he excused himself, by saying, "He had given a promise to the Emperor of Morocco, that, if he ever changed his religion, he should become a Mussulman."

Roman Catholics
brought into
offices.

MOST of those who refused their assent to the repeal of the tests, among whom were many of the highest rank, and of the King's firmest friends †, were removed from the civil or military offices which they held, and Roman Catholics, with dispensations, generally put into their places. Several professed papists were appointed judges, and others brought to the council board, particularly, the Lords Bellasis, Powis, Arrundel, Dover, and Tyrconnel. They were likewise introduced into all the inferior departments of government. They were made sheriffs, justices of the peace ‡; the government of corporations, the lieutenancies of counties, were put into their hands: The measures of the late King, in new-modelling corporations, by means of writs of *quo warranto*, were renewed, and the new magistrates were composed indiscriminately of catholics and protestants.

* Reresby 239. et passim. Lord Sunderland's apology.
256. et passim.

† Reresby 243.
‡ Books of privy-council, December 17. Reresby passim.

IN Scotland, similar measures were pursued: The Chancellor Perth, with the Lords Tarbet and Balcarras *, received private instructions to solicit the judges, and the officers of state, and of the army, to contribute to the repeal of the tests. The King wrote letters with his own hand to the Dukes of Hamilton and Queensberry to obtain their consent to the repeal of the tests. Queensberry refused: Hamilton did what was equivalent; for he desired time to consider. The commissions of the judges, which were for life, were changed †, and made to continue during pleasure only. As the tradesmen and mechanics were the most averse of any from the forms of popery, the common councils of almost all the boroughs ‡ were altered by the hand of sovereign power, without either sentence or surrender. The tory-ministry, which the King, when Duke of York, had appointed at the end of his brother's reign, was dismissed; and a new one formed, which consisted partly of Roman catholics, and partly of non-conformists. The chief power was committed to Lord Murray a weak, Chancellor Perth a timid, the Chancellor's brother Lord Mellfort, an unpopular man, all of whom were Roman catholics. To these was joined Sir John Dalrymple, son to Lord Stair. This last minister had seen his father ruined by the king, when Duke of York; and had himself, upon account of his lenity to non-conformists, been confined § for many months in a common jail by the same Prince: Yet he was now appointed Lord Advocate, and Lord Justice Clerk, offices at that time of great political power, and a privy counsellor. These preferments were bestowed upon him by the advice of Sunderland, who suggested, that, by his means, an union between the presbyterian and popish parties in Scotland might be effectuated. Capricious favours, after capricious punishments, are insults: Sir John Dalrymple came into the King's service, resolved to take vengeance, if ever it should offer: Impenetrable in his designs, but open, prompt, and daring in execution, he acted in perfect confidence with Sunderland, to whom he was inferior in nothing, and superior in eloquence. Stuart, who had been driven from Scotland by the Duke of York, had been engaged in the Ryehouse plot, and had assisted Monmouth in his attempt, was now pardoned for all his treasons, and, as secretary to Lord Mell-

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new-model-
led.

* Balcarras, 15. † Claim of right. ‡ Ibid. § Lord Stair's apology.

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fort, who was secretary of state for Scotland †, was intrusted with all the secrets of government in that kingdom. His office obliging him to draw the state-papers, he filled them with high strains of the absolute power of the King, either from the affectation of loyalty natural to a new convert, or, by a refinement of revenge, to throw odium upon the sovereign he had formerly opposed. Several of the whig and dissenting party were brought into employments; a number sufficient to disoblige the royalists, but not sufficient to satisfy their own party. The very first orders from Mellfort's office at London, to this new administration, were calculated to make James unpopular: All who were in public station were commanded to surrender their commissions, and take out new ones, without complying with the tests; and immediately after, they were commanded to take out pardons, for having transgressed the laws by their obedience. But Mellfort and Stuart had large fees for issuing the commissions and the pardons §.

And Ireland.

WHILE James was in this manner alternately encouraged or disappointed in his projects in favour of popery by his British subjects, his successes in Ireland, a country already full of catholics, and long subjected to the government of England, gave him hopes unallayed with any uneasiness. The surest marks of the spirit of a government are to be found in the administration of its provinces. The custody of arms in Ireland, was by law intrusted to protestants only. These had been taken from them during Monmouth's rebellion, by orders of Lord Tyrconnel the General, under pretence that the protestants were, in general, well disposed to Monmouth's cause; and the arms were laid up in magazines: Some, however, still remaining in the hands of private persons in some of the protestant counties, Clarendon now received orders to call in these likewise. All corporations and offices of every kind, from the highest to the lowest, were thrown open to Roman catholics, and some branches of government were ingrossed almost entirely by them. The general language of office was to speak with contempt of all protestants. In order to maintain a superiority in the privy council, the Roman catholic

† Lord Balcarras.

§ Ibid.

puisne judges, and even some private practising lawyers, were introduced into it: Honours which they themselves were ashamed of, because they were conscious that men of their order had never enjoyed them before. A regular popish hierarchy was established: The bishops received orders to wear the habits of their order in public: Revenues were assigned to them, and a pension of above L. 2000 a year was ordered to the primate, from the rents of the protestant bishoprics, which, for these purposes, were kept vacant. The modelling of the army was committed to Lord Tyrconnel: He cashiered above four thousand protestant soldiers, and above three hundred protestant officers, many of whom had bought their commissions, and others shed their blood in the cause of the crown. The dismissal of the soldiers made the greater impression, because their cloaths having been taken from them when they were broke, they wandered half naked through every part of the kingdom. The places of both were filled up chiefly with natives of Ireland of the popish religion, and with many whose fathers had lost their estates for their rebellion. Most of the disbanded officers retired into Holland, carrying with them complaints of their own and their country's wrongs, were provided for by the Prince of Orange, and afterwards attended him, at the revolution, to England. New arms in new hands were made use of as might have been expected: The soldiers harrassed the inhabitants, and lived upon them at free quarter. Tyrconnel, instead of punishing these offences, encouraged them. Many of the officers boasted, that, now they had got arms in their hands, they would soon have their estates again in their possession. Rumours of insurrections ran every where: These were increased by dissensions, arising from affront and competition between the disbanded soldiers and the new ones. The English settled in Ireland remembered the massacre of their ancestors, and fled in numbers from a country which they thought doomed to misery in every age. Provoked by this situation of their country, the protestant privy-counsellors quitted the council, and left Tyrconnel to do what he pleased. It would be hard to impute all these violences to James: They can-

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not even be imputed to those who shared his confidence: His popish privy-counsellors in England opposed some of the violent projects of Tyrconnel: For, among other extravagances, Tyrconnel having sent over Lord Chief Justice Nugent, and Lord Chief Baron Rice, to sollicite at court the repeal of the act of settlement; and the populace having followed their coaches wherever they went, with potatoes fastened to sticks, calling out, "Make way for the Irish ambassadors;" Lord Bellasis said aloud, "That fellow, Dick Talbot, is madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms." It often happens, that officers of government, who know its general intentions, carry the particular execution to excess, in order to enhance their own merit, though at the expence of those who employ them. James's apology for the dismissal of the officers, was, that he gave orders to Tyrconnel to dismiss only those who, or whose fathers had served under Cromwell; but that Tyrconnel exceeded his orders. By the prudence of Clarendon, however, all James's regulations were submitted to; and no insurrections were made in that kingdom*.

The church
roused.

THE noise of these innovations in Ireland filled England with alarms, as it is natural for the human mind to dread most those evils which it hears of, but sees not. The church of England was first roused. She who had preserved James's right of succession, and who had so long preached to the laity the doctrine of passive obedience, in favour of the princes of his family, now over-looked her own principles, when she saw the interests of religion openly invaded. The timid and weak vented privately their discontents in complaints against the ingratitude of James: But the bolder and more manly warned the people in public, and made the pulpits resound with their sermons against the approaches and the consequences of popery. In proportion as any preacher was remarkable for his reasoning, his eloquence, or his character, he exerted himself in this cause. Many of the clergy in higher ranks, either ani-

* Ralph, with the authorities which he quotes. Clarendon's letters, lately published, present a lively picture of the fatal schemes of James and Tyrconnel, in Ireland.

mated the preachers, or, by an affected, but not mysterious silence, gave them an opportunity of assuming merit from a boldness which it was insinuated their superiors could not shew, without bringing danger upon the order.

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THE effects of these exertions of the clergy were soon felt. The people were touched: The discontent began to spread: James saw it, and was alarmed: He recollected the effects of popular preaching upon the quiet of some of his predecessors. He was provoked too, because he had formed his expectations of the behaviour of the church upon the Oxford decree, the doctrines of the church herself, and the addresses of the nation: And therefore he resolved to stop the flame in its progress, by issuing letters mandatory to the bishops, which prohibited the clergy to preach upon points of controversy, and by promulgating * the court of ecclesiastical commission for trying and punishing the offences of the clergy in the exercise of their duty. This commission was an engine of authority the more important, on account of the extraordinary words in which it was expressed: For it gave a power to punish † even “those who *seemed* to be suspected of offences;” and to “*correct, amend, and alter* the statutes of the universities, churches, and schools; or, “where the statutes were lost, to devise new ones;” and these powers were declared to be effectual, “notwithstanding any law “or statute to the contrary.” The court consisted of Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury, Crew bishop of Durham, Sprat of Rochester, the lords Rochester, Sunderland, Jeffreys, and Lord Chief Justice Herbert. The greater terrors attended it, because it could not sit, unless when Jeffreys was present. It was known privately, that Sancroft, from respect to the church, would not act; which gave an opportunity of putting the Bishop of Chester, a prelate less scrupulous, in his place. It was expected, that Lord Rochester, from respect to the King, would not oppose his will in the new court: And the King was certain of the compliance of the rest. As the ecclesiastical high commission-court had been abolished in the reign of Charles the First, by a statute which prohibited the erection of any

Letters mandatory.

March 15.
July 17.

* Books of privy-council, 17 July.

† State trials, vol. 3. p. 693.

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such court for the future, the legality of this court was, by most people, called in question. But, in a kingdom where the rights of men, and the boundaries of courts, were so well ascertained, James was obliged either to lay hold of expedients, whose legality was doubtful, or to submit to the laws.

Sharpe's
trial.

THE institution of this court struck the clergy with awe. They waited with anxiety to see on whose head the storm should first break; most hoping it would fall on his neighbour; and a few, from a desire to assume merit from their sufferings, wishing that it might fall upon themselves. By mutual exhortations and assurances, they endeavoured to fortify each other; and, as often happens in such cases, the most timid became the most clamorous, and those of the most fortitude were the most modest. It was not long before the new court found objects of its jurisdiction. Doctor Sharp, in the pulpit, inveighing against the arguments in favour of popery, had expressed a contempt of those who could be converted by them. This was explained at court into a reflection against many of the King's courtiers, who had become converts to that religion, and even against the King himself. James was not displeased to find that Sharp was under the jurisdiction of the obnoxious Compton Bishop of London, and issued a mandate * to the bishop to suspend him. Compton, being a man who derived pride from his noble blood, and temper from an order whose genuine spirit is meekness, resolved not to obey, but to act such a part as should expose the King, and save himself. He wrote a letter to Lord Sunderland, and desired that it should be communicated to the King. In this letter he said, "That the only power he had over Sharp, was as his judge; and that he could not in that capacity condemn him, without the forms of law." He added, "Sharp was so willing to give his Majesty all reasonable satisfaction, that he had made him the bearer of the letter." No answer being returned, and Sharp not admitted, the bishop perceived that James had taken his resolution. In order, therefore, to make severity inexcusable, he desired Sharp

* State trials, vol. 3. p. 695.

to desist, for some time, from preaching; and he prevailed upon him to write a petition to the King, in which he expressed sorrow that his words had given occasion for constructions that were offensive, and promised to be more guarded for the future. Intercessions were in vain: Sharp was but a name: Compton was the person aimed at: His humiliation had been resolved upon. He was cited to appear before the new commission-court. The only form of his prosecution, was the following question, put to him by Jeffreys, president of the court: "What was the reason of his not having suspended Doctor Sharp, according to the King's express command, for preaching seditiously against the government?" The bishop argued, "The court before which he now appeared, was not legal: He was subject to his metropolitan and suffragans alone: He was a prelate of England, a Lord of parliament, and could be tried only by the laws of his country. It was not in his power, as a judge, to have condemned Sharp, not cited, unheard, undefended, untried: What he could do, he had done; for he had enjoined Sharp to desist from preaching. But, if this excuse appeared not sufficient in the eyes of his sovereign, he was still willing to make reparation, and to beg his pardon." The submission contained in the last part of these words created embarrassment in the court: Lord Rochester and the bishop of Rochester proposed to accept the bishop's submission; but at last yielded to their associates, who were of opinion, that he should be suspended during the King's pleasure. In the course of the trial, the Princess of Orange, whose marriage-ceremony Compton had performed, wrote to the King her father in his favour. James reprimanded her for meddling in his affairs.

Sept. 26.

In the mean time, Sunderland took advantage of James's intemperate zeal for his religion, to create a breach which he had probably meditated long between that Prince and his brothers-in-law. He was the more pressed too to attempt it at this time, because, having promised to Tyrconnel to get him appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on a condition of receiving L. 5000 a-year from Tyrconnel from the revenues of it, that Lord, who was equally furious in private as in public, now threatened to inform the King

Sunderland's intrigues to remove Rochester.

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of the bargain, if the promise was not kept. Sunderland pretended to James, that he had reason to believe Rochester would change his religion, if he was urged to it; and that his apparent reluctance proceeded partly from the meanness which he was afraid would seem to attend his yielding without conviction, and partly from a desire to enhance the value of his yielding at last. And he advised James to ask Rochester to be present at a conference and argument between protestant and popish divines, as the first step to his conversion. The King credulously made the proposal to Rochester, who, being off his guard, received it with signs of aversion and contempt, the consequences of which he did not attend to at the time. Kings have passions as well as their subjects: James fired: Rochester stood firm: They parted with minds irritated against each other: Sentiments which sunk so much the deeper, because the one had expressed too strongly, and the other had not dared to express what he felt. Rochester having imparted this adventure to a few of his friends, they agreed in opinion, that his disgrace was determined; that the King had chosen this way to finish a want of confidence with which, for many months, he had behaved to him; and that it now only remained for him to secure an interest with the people. Rochester, therefore, with all speed, made his apology to the King, pretended he had altered his mind, and agreed to be present at a conference of divines. All eyes and ears were intent upon the consequence of this conference; some pitying Rochester for being obliged to submit to it; and others inveighing that he had only taken a more refined way than others to pay a compliment, at the expence of his own honour, to the King. But Rochester soon relieved the public of its suspense: The conference was hardly begun, when he declared, that the popish arguments had only served to confirm him in the truth of the protestant religion; and then took care it should be spread abroad, that he had incurred the King's indignation for the sentiments he had expressed at the conference. The treasurer's staff was soon after taken from him.

It was a more easy matter to bring about the removal of Clarendon: Sunderland had taken care to get a standing president appointed to the privy-council of Ireland, an officer before unknown

in that country, and powers over the army bestowed upon Tyrconnel the general, independent of the Lord Lieutenant: Two novelties intended to mortify Clarendon, at the same time that they lessened his power. Innumerable other slights were put upon him. Tyrconnel, by his violence and officiousness, distracted his government*; and then made complaints to the King of the embarrassments which himself had occasioned. These things obliged Clarendon sometimes to oppose the rashness of Tyrconnel; and this was represented in England to be opposition to the King's will. From Clarendon's letters, which have been lately published, it appears, he suspected that his letters were not read by Sunderland to his master. In this situation, the fate of Rochester naturally drew after it that of his brother. James, however, shewed respect to both, while he removed them from power, bestowing a pension of L. 4000 a-year upon Rochester, and of 2000 † upon Clarendon. Rochester asked leave to go to Spaw for his health. James, suspecting that he intended to go to Holland, which was the common place of resort for all those who were discontented in England, answered, "He might go where he pleased, provided he passed not through Holland." Rochester went directly to Spaw, without paying his compliments to the Prince in passing; a mark of disrespect, which, at an after period, was remembered against him.

Upon the dismissal of Rochester, Sunderland took advantage of the foibles of Petre. He flattered his vanity; he opened vast prospects to his ambition; he prevailed upon James to bring him into the privy-council, and to ask a Cardinal's cap for him from the pope; and he proposed to Petre to resign the secretary's seals in his favour; if, by their joint interest, the treasurer's staff could be secured for himself. Petre hesitated, perhaps overawed by the greatness of the object. But Sunderland begged the Queen to ask the treasurer's staff for himself. She declined. He then asked it from the King: But James, who knew that Sunderland was not expert in figures, refused his consent: A refusal of which Sunderland made no complaint, and which, therefore, probably sunk the deeper

Sunderland's
ambition dis-
appointed.

* Clarendon's Letters passim.

† Ibid. Jan. 7, 1687-8.

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into his mind. Yet a point, more important in its consequences, was gained by Sunderland: Under the pretence, that a cabal of seven was too numerous either for expedition or secrecy, he prevailed on James to limit it to three, the King, Petre, and himself; and to give an order to the ambassadors abroad, that all intelligence of consequence should be communicated to the members of this cabal only: A resolution, which gave Sunderland the command of all the foreign correspondence; because the ministers thought it presumptuous to write often to the King, and both mean and dangerous to correspond on the public affairs of England with a Jesuit.

Attempts
upon the
possessions
of the
church.

AFTER the removal of Lord Rochester, the attempts of James, in favour of his religion, were much more open, rapid, and extensive than they had been before. Hitherto, no attempt had been made to bring Roman catholics into the possessions of the church: But, a few days after Rochester was dismissed, the deanery of Christ's church at Oxford, a very considerable preferment in the church of England, was given *, with a dispensation, to Maffy a late convert: And an attempt † was made to impose a Roman catholic, by means of a similar dispensation, upon the Charter-house. Soon after, a mandate was issued to the university of Cambridge, to give a degree of master of arts to Albine Francis, a benedictine monk: The university refused to grant the favour, though they had, a few months before, conferred it upon a Mahometan, who was secretary to the Ambassador of Morocco. Their vice-chancellor was therefore deprived ‡ of his office, and suspended, during pleasure, from that of master of his college. Other attempts were made upon other establishments of the church of England, some of which were successful, and others disappointed even by those who were the most attached to the King: For even Sawyer §, the attorney-general, refused to draw a warrant for a benefice to a priest, and the old and loyal Duke of Ormond, among others, to comply with a mandate, to receive a Roman catholic in the charter-house.

* Reresby 233. vol. 2. p. 278.
trials, vol. 3. 708.

† Carte's life of Ormond. ‡ State

Lord Castlemaine was sent ambassador extraordinary to the Pope, though any intercourse with that Pontiff was, by the laws of England, high treason; and a pompous account of his public entry, and reception at Rome*, was published by authority. James gave a solemn audience, with a magnificent parade, at the castle of Windsor, to a nuncio from the Pope; although the Duke of Somerset, who was the lord in waiting, refused to attend his duty, and resigned his place. This ceremony appeared to be an insult upon the nation, because the nuncio had been long known in a secular habit, and as a man of pleasure about court. Four popish bishops were publicly consecrated in the chapel royal: They were sent to their dioceses, under the titles of vicars apostolical; and their pastoral letters, licensed and printed by the King's printer, were dispersed through the kingdom: The popish regular clergy were seen in all the rooms of the court in the habits of their order: Spectacles against which Ronquillo the Spanish ambassador having warned James, that Prince asked him, "If it was not the custom in Spain, for the Kings to consult with their confessors?" "Yes," answered the ambassador, "and for that reason our affairs succeed so ill." Inferior members of the popish clergy † even threatened to seize public buildings, for the uses of their religion: A complaint of this kind having been carried to Lord Hallifax by the French protestant church in the Savoy, "Let the priests," said he ‡, "turn you out; for you will the sooner do your own business and the nation's." The treasury having been put into commission, Lord Bellasis was placed at the head of it. Tyrconnel was sent Lord lieutenant to Ireland. Lord Arundel received the privy-seal, another of Clarendon's offices. Many complained, that the King's brothers-in-law, the pillars of the church of England, were stripped of their honours to make way for Roman catholics; but all were sensible, that the putting the command of Ireland into the hands of a man so violent and rash as Tyrconnel, would throw that kingdom into confusion, and make the King odious through all his dominions §. Directions were given to the Lords Lieutenant to assemble their deputies and the justices of peace §, and to ask them, if they

* Gazette, February 7, 1686. † Reresby, 251. ‡ Life of K. W. v. p. 355.
§ Reresby, 237. § Ibid. 251. 256.

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would chuse such members of parliament as would consent to the abolition of the tests. Those who refused were displaced, and papists put into their places. This only was wanting to compleat the unpopularity of James. Accounts of all these changes were published in the gazette, a paper under the direction of Sunderland, and many of them in terms full of affectation, and which could not fail to provoke the people.

WHILE these general alterations struck the eyes of the public, a change which James made in the oath of a privy-counsellor discovered to those who were nearer his person, the minuteness of his attention to the interests of popery. The oath of a privy-counsellor contained these words: "I shall, to my utmost, defend
"all jurisdictions, pre-eminencies, and authorities, granted to his
"Majesty, and annexed to his crown by act of parliament, or other-
"wise, against all foreign Princes, persons, prelates, states, or poten-
"tates." This part of the oath was, by special order of the King, expunged from the council-book*.

1687.
Declaration
of indul-
gence.

April 4.

MOST of these things passed in the course of the year 1686. The succeeding year was signalized by a measure which could not fail, either by dividing the protestant interest, to give James a better chance of success in his views, or by uniting it against him, to increase his difficulties: Suspending at once, by his own authority, the whole system of laws provided by so many parliaments against nonconformity, he published a declaration of indulgence in favour of all his subjects; by which he not only gave them a full toleration in matters of religion, but dispensed with their taking the tests, and thus laid open all offices to catholics, and sectaries, and churchmen alike. This act of absolute power was the more provoking, because the same gazette which published it contained a prorogation of parliament to a distant period. The experiment of the declaration was first tried in Scotland, upon account of the absurdity and unpopularity of the test in that country, which had brought ruin upon the Earl of Argyle. But the words in which the Scottish decla-

Feb. 12,
1686-7.

* Books of privy-council, 1, 13, July 1688. The words were replaced at the revolution. Vide books 16 February 1688.

ration was expressed, like those of all the other state-papers drawn by Stuart, were contrived to offend those whom they pretended to oblige: For the declaration bore, that the King had issued it by "his fovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power, "which all his subjects were to obey without reserve." This declaration was received in Scotland with a sullen disregard: The churchmen and royalists were displeased to see those whom they called fanatics freed from the penal laws; and the presbyterian party remonstrated to each other: "The declaration was specious "and liberal, indeed, to appearance, but hollow and designing at "the bottom: For, under pretence of showing indulgence to non-conformists, it was only meant to procure it for Roman Catholics. "They had already felt the severity of the Duke of York's administration against their religion. What had so suddenly reconciled "him to their interests? Had the former rebellion of their friends, "or their own late opposition in parliament, gained favour in his "eyes? Such actions were not calculated to gain the friendship of "Kings. Favours offered voluntarily by enemies were always "suspicious; but they were doubly so, when pressed upon those who "were not asking them." The privy-council was almost the only public body which * paid compliments to James's spirit of toleration. But these compliments discovered to the wise, that only the King's servants yielded to the King's sentiments. In England, the dissenters were so weak as to be caught in the snare, and made advances to form connections with the crown †.

JAMES, improving upon these advances, endeavoured, by raising jealousies between the dissenters and the church, to procure concessions from both; from the former in hopes of keeping, and from the latter, of regaining his favour. For this purpose, addresses in favour of protestant dissenters were encouraged; and favourable answers given to them: Plans were received and digested at court for their security: The court language was, that the King's intentions to shew favour to the dissenters had hitherto been prevented from taking effect, by the severity and pride of the church of England. In order to expose

James sows
jealousies
between the
church and
dissenters.

* Gazette March 3, 1686-7.

† Sir John Reresby.

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the rigour of that church, James gave orders * to make a scrutiny into all the vexatious suits which had been brought in the ecclesiastical courts against dissenters. By his orders †, the common councils of London, and of many other corporations ‡, were filled with dissenters. The justices of peace, and deputy-lieutenants were changed almost all over the kingdom; and, in the Gazette ||, it was avowed by government, that this was done to gain security for the declaration of indulgence. James's common conversation, and his public papers, contained expressions of the greatest cordiality to those of that denomination. Many can bear the frowns of Kings. But their smiles are more irresistible. The dissenters of England in general were ripe for attaching themselves to the party of the King.

THIS new state of party was beginning to be attended with the consequences which James had foreseen. Animosities daily arose between the zealots of the church of England, and of the dissenters; the former upbraiding their protestant brethren with their desertion of the protestant cause, and the latter reminding the church of England of her past rigours, and insulting her present misfortunes. Of all the measures taken by James, this gave the greatest alarm and uneasiness to those who were resolved to oppose his innovations. The best writers of the protestant party, therefore, employed themselves in publications to stop the growth of the evil, particularly Lord Halifax; and Burnet, the facility of whose stile and imagination was more suited to the looseness of pamphlet-writing, than to the precision, impartiality, and dignity of history. To the church of England, they held forth, "the necessity of forgetting past injuries between the church and dissenters, and of uniting for future defence against Roman catholics." They warned the dissenters, "the royal favour, with which they were blinded, could not be sincere, or long lived, which had

* Gazette March 1, 1687. et passim.

† Sir John Reresby. Books of privy-council, 24 September, 10 February 1687.

‡ There are innumerable instances of these changes in the books of privy-council from November 1687, till June 1688.

|| Gazette December 12, 1687.

“been conferred upon them, only because the church of England would not receive it on the terms of making concessions to popery, and of which that church could strip them in an instant, by yielding to those terms.”

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WHILE James was pursuing so many imprudent and dangerous measures, he was, by the frivolousness of public addresses, lulled into a fatal security, from which he was awaked only by the noise of his own ruin. Not only all the different bodies of the dissenters thanked him for his declaration of indulgence; but five bishops, at the head of their clergy, the body of lawyers, the city of London, and great numbers of other public bodies of the church of England, followed the example. Although almost every individual in the nation was inflamed against the King, and most of those who were founded * by his orders, declared they would not comply in parliament with his measures; yet almost all public bodies appeared to be in transports with his conduct †.

James blinded by addresses.

AMIDST James's projects about religion, he neglected not his temporal interests. He adopted that project of simplifying government, and of reducing all business to the person of the Sovereign, which every Prince since the world began, who has aimed at arbitrary power, has endeavoured to carry into execution. When he put the treasury into commission, he declared to the privy-council, that he did it, because too much power was committed to the high treasurer; and, at the same time, he declared, that, for the same reason, the offices of general and of admiral were, in due time, to be exercised by himself only ‡. James stretched his views of subjecting all things to his will, even beyond the Atlantic: For, he

The King's ideas of government.

* Reresby 257. † The gazettes of the year 1687 and 1688, are full of these addresses. James was so fond of them, that he received one from the company of cooks, in which they said, “that the declaration of indulgence resembled the “Almighty's manna, which suited every man's *palate* ;” and “that men's different “*gustos* might as well be forced as their different apprehensions about religion.” Gazette, Nov. 4. ‡ Books of privy-council, Jan. 7, 1686.

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1687.

Attempt on
Magdalene
college.

April 11.

June 22.

ordered *quo warrantos* to be issued, to forfeit all the charters of the proprietors and corporations in America*.

IN times of high passion, the public attention is more engrossed by particular exertions of power, than by the general and important regulations which it establishes. An act of royal power against one of the colleges of Oxford, united the church and friends of liberty against the King, and suspended the advances of the dissenters. James issued a mandate, with a dispensation to Magdalene college in Oxford, a foundation extremely rich, to chuse one Farmer, who had promised to become catholic, president of the college. Farmer happened to be, by the statutes of the foundation, under several disabilities, which the fellows could not get over without breaking their oaths to the statutes of their founders. The fellows, therefore, in a petition, represented their difficulties to the King, begged him to recal the mandate, and offered to chuse any other qualified † person he pleased. The answer returned by Lord Sunderland was, that the King expected obedience to his will. The fellows waited the King's further pleasure, until the last day on which they were limited by their statutes to elect, and then chose Dr. Hough, a man of high character, and of higher spirit, who was immediately confirmed by the bishop of Worcester, visitor of the college, and installed. For this contumacy, the ecclesiastical commission punished Hough by deprivation, and two of the fellows by suspension. But they refused to submit to the sentence, and continued in the exercise of their offices, upon this ground, that their settlements in the college were their freeholds, bestowed upon them by the will of their founder, and of which, therefore, they could not be deprived, unless by a common trial at law. In order to avoid the question concerning the statutory disabilities under which Farmer laboured, James, soon after, issued a new mandate to the fellows, to

* This important order is to be found in the books of privy-council, May 28, 1687. The English subjects of America, who complain of their sufferings under the present reign, may compare that order with the measures of a very different nature which another Prince has tried to pacify and reclaim them.

† State trials, v. 3. p. 718.

elect Parker, Bishop of Oxford, for their president; a man who had written a book in defence of the king's project of dispensing with the tests. The fellows made answer, that the place was full by the election of Dr. Hough. James went to Oxford, in a progress he was making through the western parts of his kingdom, sent for the fellows, upbraided them with their disobedience, and commanded them forthwith to depart from his presence, and elect Bishop Parker. His last words to them were, "that otherwise they should feel the weight of his hand." They retired to their chapel, and there resolved to prefer their duty to the laws, to the will of their Sovereign. James perceived too late the false step he had made, in exposing his authority to the affront of a personal refusal, and in making altercations between a King of England and the fellows of a college, the subject of dispute among boys, and abruptly left Oxford. A deputation of the college followed him to Bath, with some general but unmeaning assurances of their loyalty and obedience. James, fretted with them, and with himself, gave directions to bring the matter to a compromise: The fellows listened to a treaty, in order to keep up the attention of the public, and to give importance to themselves: But, in the end, encouraged by a party, and flattered with the applauses of the youth, they refused to make any concessions. The king had gone too far to retreat with honour, or to proceed without loss of popularity: He allowed two months to pass over, and then sent a new ecclesiastical commission, as visitors, to Oxford, to terminate a dispute which, by the variety of its incidents, was continually becoming more and more serious. The new commissioners entered a town of gownsmen, surrounded with three troops of horse. Doctor Hough was asked by the bishop of Chester, president of the court, if he would submit to the former sentence of deprivation? He answered, he would not; and, with great intrepidity, asserted the rights of the college, and defended his own. The King's proctor, upon this, accused him of contumacy; and the court struck his name out of the college-book. The fellows were next asked, if they would assist at the installment of the Bishop of Oxford? All but two refused. Hough protested against the proceedings of the commission, and appealed to the courts of law in Westminster-hall. A low but firm murmur of applause, the genuine and insuppressible

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1687.

Oct. 27.

Nov. 16.

voice of English liberty, was heard from every part of the hall, in which almost the whole university was assembled. The court, however, caused the doors of the president's lodgings to be broken open, and installed the bishop of Oxford by proxy. The bishop of Chester then intimidated the fellows by threats in public, and soothed them by promises in private. They who had withstood the frown of the sovereign of the nation, were not able to withstand the authority of a superior of their own order: A paper was signed by them in these words: "That, since the King had caused the bishop of Oxford to be installed, they submitted to him, so far as was lawful, and agreeable to the statutes of the college, and not pre-judicial to the right of Doctor Hough." The bishop, having brought them thus far, thought he was sure of making his victory compleat, and insisted, that they should sign a paper, acknowledging their offence, and begging pardon of the King. By this frivolous demand, he lost the effect of what he had formerly gained. The fellows, ashamed of their late concession, observing their credit likely to sink with their old friends, and that they could never expect to find any with a party which thus insisted upon their debasing themselves, refused, explained away what they had formerly done, and, in the end, retracted it. The court, embarrassed by this sudden turn, stopped, and returned to London. But the king soon after sent them back to Oxford, where they admitted some new fellows by their own authority alone; then calling for the fellows of the college, the commissioners insisted that, before they quitted the room, they should sign a paper of the same tenor with the paper which the bishop of Chester had formerly presented to them. The fellows, willing to prolong the matter, asked time to consider, and to give their answer in writing; but met with a refusal. All of them, near thirty in number, except two who professed obedience, were deprived, and declared incapable of church-preferment for the future. Others were placed in their stead by authority of the King. And to these, upon the death of the bishop of Oxford, which happened soon after, a mandate was issued to elect Gifford for their president, a doctor of the Sorbonne, titular bishop of Madura, and one of the four vicars apostolical of England. These disputes the more engaged

the passions of the English, because the attack upon the college, affecting the constitution and freehold of the members, was considered to be an invasion of property, as well as of religion.

PART I.
BOOK IV.
1687.

BUT the passions of the nation were, a few months after, in the 1688.

spring of the year 1688, transferred to an object more important and more affecting: For James, rushing with precipitancy upon his

April 27.

ruin, published a new declaration of indulgence, and commanded all the clergy to read it in the churches. This general command

brought matters to a point between the King and the church; because it was obvious, if the clergy read the proclamation, that their

Bishops petition.

order would become contemptible to their hearers; and, if they disobeyed, that they would be obnoxious to the pains of the new

commission-courts. In this delicate situation, between the danger of offending the King, or of losing the people, almost all the clergy

preferred their honour, and their duty, to the King's favour; and resolved not to read the declaration. Six of the bishops, Loyd of

St. Asaph, Kenne of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol, met with

archbishop Sancroft, at his palace at Lambeth, to consult concerning common measures. One or two divines*, together with Lord

Clarendon, were the only other persons privy to this consultation. The bishops framed the following decent and soothing,

but firm petition to the King: And six of them, the archbishop being sick, delivered it in person to him: "Humbly sheweth,

May 18.

"That the great averfeness they find in themselves to the distributing

"and publishing in all their churches your Majesty's late declaration

"for liberty of conscience, proceeds neither from any want of duty

"and obedience to your Majesty (our holy mother the church

"of England, being both in her principles and constant practice unquestionably loyal, and having, to her honour, been more

"than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty), nor yet from any want of tenderness to dissenters,

"in relation to whom, we are willing to come to such a temper

* Clarendon's diary, May 12.

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“ as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and
 “ settled in parliament and convocation; but among many other
 “ considerations, from this especially, because that declaration is
 “ founded upon such a dispensing power, as hath been often de-
 “ clared illegal in parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and
 “ 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty’s reign; and in a mat-
 “ ter of so great moment, and consequence to the whole nation,
 “ both in church and state, your petitioners cannot in prudence,
 “ honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it,
 “ as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn pub-
 “ lication of it once again, even in God’s house, and in the time of
 “ divine service, must amount to, in common, and reasonable con-
 “ struction.”

“ YOUR petitioners, therefore, most humbly and earnestly be-
 “ seech your Majesty, that you will be pleased not to insist upon
 “ their distributing and reading your said declaration.”

JAMES read the petition, and made the following answer: “ I
 “ have heard of this before, but did not believe it. I did not expect
 “ this from the church of England, especially from some of you.
 “ If I change my mind, you shall hear from me; if not, I expect
 “ my command shall be obeyed.” The bishops replied, “ We resign
 “ ourselves to the will of God,” bowed, and retired.

ALTHOUGH Sancroft had the precaution, to write the peti-
 tion with his own hand, lest a copy might be taken; yet, from
 the infidelity of those who surrounded the King, printed copies
 of the petition were dispersed all over London, the same night
 it was presented. All men, therefore, saw, that the contest
 was now brought to a crisis between James and the Church:
 For the bishops, by interesting their “ prudence, honour, and con-
 “ science,” in the dispute, had put it out of their power to draw
 back; and James, by his continual repetition of the necessity of
 obedience in subjects, had obliged himself to go forward. He
 took, however, three weeks to consider of the prospect before him.

The nation believing that their own fate, and the fate of their posterity, was depending, waited the event with impatience and anxiety.

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1688.

AT last, the bishops were called to appear before the privy-council: They were asked, "If they owned their petition?" A question, which was become necessary, because, without their acknowledgment, it was difficult to prove that they had delivered the petition: They declined to answer the question; a refusal which embarrassed the council. They were ordered to withdraw. Upon their return, they still declined to answer, which continued the embarrassment. But, at length, reflecting, that it was the more manly part to avow to the council what they were resolved to defend to the world, they owned the paper. Jeffreys asked them, if they would give recognizances to appear before the court of King's bench, to stand trial for their misdemeanour. With a view to engage the peers in their quarrel, they insisted upon their privilege of peerage, and refused to find bail. Jeffreys menaced them with the tower, and the King's indignation. They answered, "That they were willing to go where-ever the King pleased; for that the King of Kings was their Protector and Judge." They were committed to the tower, all the privy-counsellors signing the warrant, except Father Petre, who by the King's command was excused. Jeffreys, * who foresaw the consequences of this prosecution, advised the King against it. But there is reason to believe, that Sunderland promoted it, while underhand he exhorted the bishops to stand firm.

June 8.
They appear
before the
council.

DIRECTIONS were given to carry the bishops, by water, to the tower, in order to prevent the emotions which a sight of their sufferings, in their passage through the city, might raise in the people. But the people rushed in innumerable crouds to the river, to wait for them, covering the banks on both sides, and filling the rooms, and even roofs of all the adjoining houses. They set up a shout of acclamation, when the bishops were first discovered at a distance; shed

They are
sent to the
tower.

* Clarendon's diary, June 14 and 27.

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BOOK IV.
1688.

tears, and offered prayers for their deliverance, when they approached; threw themselves with reverence on the ground as they passed; and still with their eyes followed the barges when disappearing. The contagion caught even the soldiers: They kneeled, and asked the blessings of those prisoners whom they were appointed to guard. When the bishops arrived at the tower, it was the hour of evening service. The bell tolled; the clergyman was entering the chapel; and the people flocking into it. They embraced the omen, and repaired instantly to church, to return their thanks to that God, in whose cause, they believed, they were suffering.

June 29.
Their trial.

THEY were brought to their trial in the court of King's bench: The crime charged against them was, "the framing and publishing a seditious, false, and malicious libel, against the King's prerogative and government, under the pretence of presenting a petition to the King." Twenty nine peers, with a great number of divines and commoners of rank, attended them to their trial, Tories and Whigs vying with each other who should do them most honour. The populace, who assembled in expectation of the event, were more numerous than ever had been seen together in England. Their acclamations, proceeding from animation and anger, were more violent and more continued, than those which had been heard when the bishops were passing to the tower; because they were not broken by the varying passions of grief and uncertainty. The prisoners received these honours with affection and humility. In distributing their benedictions, they exhorted the people to repress their zeal, and to honour and obey the King: A generosity which increased the public resentment against him who was the cause of their sufferings. When the judges entered the court, they found it filled with men and women of the first rank. The arguments of the bishops council, particularly of Mr. Summers, who owed his future fortune to the character he gained in this trial, were received by the audience with a favour proportioned to the aversion with which those of the prosecutors were heard. They argued, "As peers, it was the right of the bishops to give council to the King. As prelates, it was their duty to attend to the interests of that religion which was committed to their charge:

“ They had not invaded the King’s prerogative, by remonstrating
 “ against the dispensing power; for the King had no such preroga-
 “ tive: The petition could not be *seditious*, for it was presented to
 “ the King in private, and to him only; nor *false*, for the matter
 “ of it was true; nor *malicious*, for the occasion was not sought
 “ by them, but pressed upon them; it was not a *libel*, for the in-
 “ tention was innocent, and the subject has leave, by law, to pe-
 “ tition his Prince when he thinks himself aggrieved; it was not
 “ *published*, for the archbishop had not trusted even the writing of
 “ the petition to a clerk, and the bishops could give no copy, be-
 “ cause they had none.” Two of the judges, Lord Chief Justice
 Wright and Allybone, gave their opinions to the jury against the
 prisoners; the other two, Powel and Holloway, declared their
 sentiments in their favour. The jury kept themselves inclosed
 all night, in order to give the more solemnity to their proceed-
 ings, and in the morning returned their verdict, that the pri-
 soners were not guilty. The verdict was received with a shout
 in the court*, which was answered by one from the multitude in
 the palace yard, and almost, in an instant, by a thousand shouts
 from different parts of the town. These were continued from
 village to village, till they reached the army incamped on Hounslow-
 heath, which was seized with the same sympathetic transport. The
 King happened that day to be in Lord Feversham’s tent, and
 hearing the camp in an uproar, sent Feversham to inquire into the
 cause: He returned, and reported, “ It was nothing but the joy
 “ of the soldiers for the discharge of the bishops.” “ Nothing,” said
 the King, “ Do you call that nothing? But so much the worse
 “ for them.” He returned immediately to town, and issued a pro-
 clamation, forbidding the populace to assemble in the streets. The
 restraint increased their zeal; and the city was lighted up by bone-
 fires and illuminations. Some persons were tried for disorders
 committed that evening; but the juries acquitted them†, though
 often sent back by the judges to reconsider their verdicts.

* Lord Clarendon, who was present, says it almost made the roof crack. Diary
 June 30.

† Reresby p. 265.

PART I.
BOOK IV.

1688.

July 12.

SOON after the trial of the bishops, Powel and Holloway were struck off the list of judges, and the ecclesiastical commission issued an order * for returning the names of all those clergymen who had refused to read the King's declaration of indulgence, in order that prosecutions might be directed against them. Impotent marks of revenge and obstinacy. Immediately after, the bishop of Rochester † observing how the current ran, wrote a letter to the ecclesiastical commission, desiring to be excused from attending it any longer : It met no more.

Dispositions
of the army.

FINDING the civil and ecclesiastical courts insufficient for the accomplishment of his will, James gave orders to sound the different regiments at Blackheath, if they would stand by him in the abrogation of the tests. The major of Litchfield's regiment made a speech to the soldiers, and ordered all those to lay down their arms who would not comply with their sovereign's desire. The whole regiment, except a few, threw their arms upon the ground. The King was on the field. He was struck motionless at the sight. But, after some pause, he ordered them to take up their muskets, and said, with a fullen ambiguity, "That he would do them the honour to ask their advice another time." Experience should have taught him how little his military force was to be depended upon in matters of religion. For the year before, Admiral Strickland, who was a papist, having directed the priests to say mass on board his ship, the seamen, a class of men not famous in England for attention to religious controversy, rose in a mutiny, and insisted to throw the priests over board. Strickland proceeded to severity : The severity added rage to mutiny ; and both flew from ship to ship. The King was obliged to repair to Portsmouth, to pacify the seamen. He in vain called them his children and old friends. Though more easily affected with concessions, and with kindness of expression than other men, it was impossible to satisfy them until the priests were removed from all the ships ‡.

July 13,
1687.

* Gazette July 12.

† Sir John Reresby 265.

‡ Bishop of Rochester's letters to Lord Dorset.

DURING the trial of the bishops, the Queen was brought to bed of a son. Rumours were immediately spread, and, as men easily believe what they wish, were greedily received, that the birth was an imposture. Many falsehoods were invented and circulated to increase the suspicion; and, according to the nature of credulity, in times of high passion, the most improbable were the most believed. Even men of sense and of candour seemed to have lost their superiority of mind in the prejudices of the vulgar. The vulgar even fell below their ordinary deficiency of common understanding: They believed, that the fireworks, prepared in honour of the Prince of Wales's birth, were intended to bombard the city, in revenge for their rejoicings upon the deliverance of the bishops. And as men in terror are prone to superstition, the sky happening, on the night of the fire-works, to be alternately obscured by clouds, and inflamed by lightnings, they cried out, "That this was an expression of the Almighty's indignation against the imposture put upon the protestant heirs to the throne." Few reflected how unlikely it was, that James should stifle the voice of nature, to injure his daughters, who had never injured him. It was said, "That one who had broken faith with his God, in changing his religion, and who had broken faith with his people, in invading the constitution, was become insensible to all the ties of nature."

PART I.
BOOK IV.

1688.

Birth of
Prince of
Wales.
Passions of
the people.

B O O K V.

PART I.
BOOK V.
1688.

THE Nation turns its Eyes to the Prince of Orange,——Situation of the Prince, and of Holland, in the Year 1688, relative to other Nations.——The Prince's Movements in England.——His secret Preparations in Holland.——His Public Preparations.——James kept long in the Dark.——At last receives Intelligence of the intended Invasion.——Offers of France to assist him.——Officers cashiered for refusing Popish Recruits.——James makes Advances to the Church.——His Preparations.——His Negotiations with the States.——Differences in the Prince's English Councils.——The Prince publishes his Declaration.——His Followers publish other Papers.——Interview of James with the Bishops.——Inquiry into the Birth of the Prince of Wales.——The Prince of Orange detained by Cross winds.——State of Men's Minds in this Interval.

The nation
turns its
eyes to the
Prince of
Orange.

DURING a succession of such disagreeable measures, almost all eyes in Britain were turned towards the Prince of Orange, whose consort, the Lady Mary, was the next heir to the crown, and a protestant, and who was himself the preserver of his own country, the head of the protestant interest in Christendom, and the assertor of the liberties of Europe, in opposition to that power which was the hereditary enemy of England. The whigs were willing to seize liberty under any leader; and the tories deemed it not incompatible with their principles of obedience, to receive

it from the hands of a Prince whose consort would, in all probability, have a right to their future allegiance. The church of England was driven to despair; the dissenters found out at last, that they were like to be made the forgers of their own chains: Some of James's friends began to think, that they had gone too far in favour of his religion; even Jeffreys hesitated, repented, and trembled*. Some indulged, some changed, and some invented principles to vindicate their conduct; but almost all resolved on the conduct they were to follow. The birth of the Prince of Wales set all these sparks in a flame. Men saw no end to their fears; and the happiness of their Sovereign in this event was looked upon as an entail of calamity on the nation. James, by avoiding to assemble his parliament, had put it out of the power of his people to recur to their constitutional relief. Most abhorred the thought of a civil war, because they recollected, that, in the time of Charles I. the nation, in defending itself against one Prince, had been subjected to an hundred tyrants: But they thought that a foreign force, together with the pretensions of the Prince of Orange, to interpose in the settlement of a nation which was too apt, when left to itself, to run into confusion, might afford security against tyranny on the one hand, and anarchy on the other. In one thing only the tories and whigs differed: The tories intended no more by asking the protection of the Prince of Orange, than to procure a great parliamentary settlement for the security of the national religion and laws: But the whigs, concealing their intentions in public, animated each other thus in private: "Parliamentary settlements and laws in support of religion and liberty, they had in abundance: But of what avail were parliaments and laws against a King, who considered the first only as instruments of his convenience in reigning; and who asserted a right of dis-

* Reresby passim and Clarendon's diary. Jeffreys, like all insolent men, was much a coward. One of Charles II.'s parliaments having attacked him, in order to oblige him to surrender his office of recorder of London, Charles offered him his protection, and even solicited him to make use of it. But Jeffreys in terrors resigned. Charles said, with his usual wit, "Jeffreys, I find, is not parliament-proof." North's examen, p. 551.

PART I.
BOOK V.
1688.

“pensing when he pleased with the last? There was an original contract between the Prince and the subject, by which the one was bound to observe the laws, and the other his allegiance. But James had broken his part of this contract: They were therefore free from their part of it likewise. And the time was now ripe, in compliance with the voice of the people, to oblige him to descend from that throne, from which, by the voices of two successive houses of commons, he had already been excluded.” All these different parties carried their complaints to the Prince of Orange with the more freedom; because, although the reserved manner which was natural to him, together with his opinion of the violence and variableness of the British in politics, made him cautious of speaking out his own sentiments; yet he was ever ready to hear the complaints of a people who, beyond all others, are impatient of misery; and who, even when happy, complain because they are not happier: And these manners gave a high opinion of his prudence to the discontented part of the English, and that they were safe in forming connections with him.

Natural
connection
at this time
between
England
and Hol-
land.

THE English were at this time equally well disposed to connect their interests with those of the Prince's countrymen. The sudden revocation of the edict of Nantz by Louis XIV. had revived the remembrance of those ties which, a century before, had united and supported the civil and religious interests of England and Holland. And, when the English compared the revocation of the edict with the succeeding conduct of James, they imputed both to a regular concerted plan between Louis and him, to destroy the protestant religion all over Europe. Instead of endeavouring to wipe off the impressions which the discovery of Coleman's letters had created, James had, during the last two years, managed his negotiations with France in a manner which confirmed those suspicions. Although there were treaties between England and France, which provided for the security of English subjects residing in the last of these countries; yet no sooner was the edict of Nantz revoked than dra-

goons were quartered upon the English merchants, to force them to change their religion, and they were not permitted to leave the kingdom. When James complained of these things, the French court gave orders, that none of the English who were not naturalised should be molested: But, as directions were at the same time given, that the wives and children of those who had married French women should be considered as naturalised, the last part of the order made the first of little use; and the wives and children were sent to prisons or to convents. Arts were used to rob of the benefit of the order, even the few who were entitled to it*. The French

* A letter from Sir William Trumball the English ambassador in France, to Lord Sunderland, December 19, 1685, in the paper-office, gives a curious instance of this:

"I acquainted him (i. e. Monf. de Croissy) also with Sir William Douglas's petition for leave for his wife and child to go into England with him. But this, he told me plainly, the King had refused; for, although the husband, being not naturalized, might go if he pleased, yet the wife and child were subjects of France, and should not have that permission.

"It happened, that, at the same time, I requested leave for one Mrs. Wilkins to sell her estate at Rouen, and to return to her husband in England, whose case was this: Humphrey Wilkins had been for many years a merchant at Rouen, but falling into troubles, his wife obtained a sentence of separation *de habitation et des biens* from him, and so he went to London. Monf. de Croissy told me, that the King would not grant her any leave as she desired; but, because her husband had been naturalized, he looked upon her as his subject. So that, in the case of Sir William Douglas, they separate man and wife, and in this, they join them that were separated by the sentence of their own judges."

Louis, at this time, seems to have been as bigotted as James; and to have entered as much into detail. There is an instance also of this in Mr. Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, June 11, 1687, in the paper-office.

"The King seems to be much afraid, that Mademoiselle Dromarre, when she shall be in the Princess of Denmark's court, may be prevailed upon by her sister to change her religion; and, though I had thought the assurance I had given in his Majesty's name, that nothing should be said to her to that purpose, might have been sufficient, yet the Most Christian King cannot satisfy his conscience, until he receive some more particular assurance; and, for that purpose, Monf. de Croissy is ordered to write this day to Monf. Barillon, from whom your Lordship will hear further of that matter."

PART I.

BOOK V.

1688.

seized, on the coasts of England, some French fishermen who were settled in England, and, under pretence that they had carried English protestants from France into England, committed them to prisons*. They would not permit the English protestants, who died in France, to be buried†; and the corps of a woman which had been privately interred, was taken from the grave, and dragged naked through the streets. The English traders to Hudson's Bay, the West Indies, and Africa, were injured and insulted. The people of New England were not allowed to trade, or to fish to the northward‡, and, when their ships were forced to anchor in the French roads for water or provisions, they were confiscated. Upon one occasion, fifty English hands were thrown overboard. The French court at first denied the order for confiscation in the roads, but afterwards avowed it‡. They laid duties so high upon the importation of the English cotton-manufactures, that the duties were equivalent to a prohibition††. Sir William Trumball presented spirited, but proper memorials§, upon these subjects. The French complained of the terms in which they were drawn, and he was reprimanded by his Sovereign. Provoked by the patience of the English, and the *bauteurs* of the French court, he resigned his embassy&, and no satisfaction was obtained for the nation. Louis XIV. had provoked the Pope by the humiliation of the Genoese, with whom that pontiff was connected by relation††, and had in-

* Sir William Trumball's letters to Lord Sunderland in the paper-office.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. and Skelton's letters.

‡ In Sir William Trumball's letter to Lord Sunderland, Jan. 2, 1686, in the paper-office, Mons. de Croissy denied the order; but, in the letter of 9th Jan. Sir William says, that having urged Mons. de Croissy upon the orders which the French commanders said they had, he answered, "He did believe (at least by consequence) there were such orders." ↔ Ibid. May 8, 1686.

§ The memorials are in the paper-office. Vid. also his letter 6th Feb. 1686.

& Sir William Trumball's correspondence in the paper-office.

†† A Letter in the paper-office from Lord Preston the English ambassador, to Lord Sunderland, from Paris, June 21, 1624, contains these words:

"The Duc D'Etrees, the King's ambassador at Rome, hath lately had an audience of the Pope, in which he designed to have declared to him the reasons

sulted him in his capital in the affair of the franchises: The whole reign of Louis had been a succession of injuries to the King of Spain and the Emperor. And, to shew his contempt of the Prince of Orange, he had, two years before the present period, pulled down the walls of Orange, committed the president, who was a protestant, to prison, and, while he permitted the protestant preachers of other nations to quit France*, he confined those of Orange in jails. The vengeance of all these Princes was therefore eager to fall upon him. Yet James, engrossed intirely with the interests of his religion, instead of imitating the policy of his brother, who either fomented the wars of his neighbours, or took no pains to bring them to a period, employed his good offices to compose differences between Louis and the Pope†, used all his influence to prevent a war between France and the confederate powers, maintained a close connection with Louis, which was dignified by both with the name of friendship‡, and made an offer to that Prince, to guarantee the twenty years truce, which was then subsisting in the western parts of Europe§. These marks of attention, or ra-

which the King his master had to batter Genoa with his bombs. But the Pope, without hearing him, put himself upon his knees before his oratory, and weeping, brought forth these words: *Defende causam tuam, O Domine!* and the ambassador, not knowing what to say, retired."

* Letter from Sir William Trumball to Lord Sunderland, 9th Jan. 1696, in the paper-office.

† Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, 15 Feb. 1688, in the paper-office.

‡ These things are strongly marked in the correspondence of the three successive ambassadors to France in this reign, in the paper-office, Lord Preston, Sir William Trumball, and Skelton. Upon Dykvelt the Dutch ambassador's going to England, Skelton represents the expressions of the French court thus.

"Monf. de Croissy took notice to me of Monf. Dykvelt's going into England, and I find it is not approven here, fearing he does not design any good to his Majesty; and they hope that the King will give them a short and speedy dismissal."

Letter from Skelton to Lord Sunderland, 1 Feb. 1687.

§ Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, June 11, 1687, contains these words:

"The most Christian King returning to Versailles on Saturday last, I went thither the next day, and presented the memorial your lordship sent me in

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Situation of
the Prince
and of Hol-
land in the
year 1688.

ther of subserviency to France, alarmed both the fears and the pride of the English. But, above all, they were disheartened when they heard of the rejoicings of the court of France for the imprisonment of the seven bishops, and the birth of the Prince of Wales*, judging, by a popular, and therefore for the most part by a just maxim, that England and France could seldom have reason to rejoice at one time.

MANY things stimulated the Prince to comply with the desires of those who solicited him to interpose in the affairs of England. It is natural to hate to extremes what we extremely dread: Hence personal aversion to Louis XIV. was the ruling passion in the Prince's breast. That monarch had, in the year 1672, pushed Hol-

your's of the 16th of May, which was read in council that morning, and yesterday Monf. de Croissy told me that the King his master had declared his zeal for the preserving the peace of Christendom, and his resolutions to preserve inviolably the declarations he had lately made to maintain the truce; so that he was very glad to hear that the King my master would accept the guarantee of it, and charge himself with it.

"The minister of Denmark has desired, that all the allies may be comprehended in this guarantee; and that the King his master may be particularly named in it, which Monf. Croissy has given him encouragement to hope."

This guarantee took not effect. There was no other secret treaty between Louis and James. So early as March 1688, at a time when James had no reason to deny a treaty with France, and some to avow it, he disclaimed to the Spaniards all secret treaty with France. Vid. Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland 24th March 1688, in the paper-office. Yet without doubt the Prince of Orange had reason to be alarmed with the offer of this guarantee, as it was a sure foundation for the establishment of the power of France.

* A letter from Skelton to Lord Sunderland, June 16, 1668, in the paper-office, contains these words: "His Christian Majesty was also pleased to take notice to me of the imprisonment of the bishops, and very much applauds the King's resolution in that affair, and said he was ready to give his Majesty all manner of assistance that was in his power, which he spoke in such a cordial manner as the sincerity thereof is not to be doubted." Vid. others of Skelton's letters.

land, and the Prince himself, to the brink of destruction. Since that time no year, scarce a month *, had passed, without some attempt by the Prince to kindle war against Louis, or some attempt by Louis to raise opposition to the Prince. When Louis destroyed the walls of Orange, the Prince said, "He would, one day, make him feel what it was to have exasperated a Prince of Orange." A saying which he often repeated, and always with a force in his manner, which indicated how deep the injury had sunk in his mind. During the two last years he had been forming a league composed of one half of Europe against France, but which he knew would be unavailing without the accession of England. The King of Spain, the Emperor, and the Prince, pressed James to join in that league. To the two first of these Princes, after entertaining them with some hopes, James answered, "He meant to keep peace with his neighbours, and to confine his attention to the commerce of his own kingdoms." To the last of them he offered to accede, provided the Prince would concur with him in procuring the abolition of the tests and penal laws against Roman-catholics in England †: A discrepancy in the answers, which made the Prince suspect the sincerity of that which he received. All these Princes therefore resolved upon the ruin of the King of England as a necessary prelude to the vengeance they meditated against France.

Most of the British, whom the Prince had seen in the late or the present reign, being discontented themselves, had endeavoured to inspire their discontents into him. The natural jealousies between a prince in possession, and his presumptive successor; the opposition of interests and religion; the remembrance of past, and dread of future injuries, had dissolved all ties between the father and son-in-law, except those which decorum imposed, and of which perhaps that decorum made both more impatient. When James recalled the six British regiments in the Dutch service, the

* Vid. D'Avaux.

† Ibid.

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Prince refused to part with them*. James ordered the officers to throw up their commissions; but few obeyed him. Skelton's son, who was an officer in one of the regiments, and had an office about the Princess, resigned his commission, but was willing to continue in his office. The Prince dismissed him, saying, "Those who will not serve the States, shall not serve the Princess †." Skelton, who had quarrelled with the Prince, who had been an officer in the French service, and who was known to hate the Dutch, was sent ambassador to France to mark James's disregard of the Prince ‡. He and the Dutch ambassador at Paris scarcely visited each other. And, upon a false report that the English ambassador had made an application to the French court concerning the Prince's interests in Orange, the Prince complained of James's meddling in his affairs ††. The pregnancy of the Queen, and the birth of the Prince of Wales, gave motion to the usual phlegm of the Prince's temper. Before that event, he had avoided a rupture, because, in the course of nature, the prospect of the Princess's succession was not distant, and by hastening it too much, he might disappoint it altogether: But now he saw that prospect removed to a still more remote and more uncertain day.

THE Prince knew with pleasure, at this time, that the minds of his countrymen were equally hostile with his own to the Kings of France and of England. Louis XIV. had lately attacked the interests of the two greatest branches of the Dutch manufacture and fishery, by prohibiting the entry of the woven fabrics and the herrings of

* Gazettes 1687. Books of privy-council, 14th March 1687-8.

† Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, March 24, 1688, in the paper-office.

‡ Ibid. to ibid. July 9, 1687, July 10, 1688.

†† From a letter 16 July 1687, from Skelton to Lord Sunderland, in the paper-office, it appears that the Dutch ambassador at Paris had complained to Monsr. de Croissy of this. Skelton repeats Croissy's surprize at the injury done by the report to Skelton, "who," said he, "never had made mention of any thing relating to his Highness except the interceding for the president of Orange, and the members of that principality; and that after such a manner, that he plainly saw, it was not a thing the King took much to heart."

Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, 13th Jan. 1687, and others.

Holland into France. And, when he repealed the edict of Nantz, he refused* to permit the Dutch protestants in France to retire with their effects to their own country. A great number however made their escape, and were accompanied with a still greater of French refugees. As there is a pleasure in relating past sufferings, and hearing them related, both these classes of men spread through Holland accounts of the miseries they had endured in France, for the cause of their religion; and, when the Prince, from political views, received many of them into the troops, and the Dutch, from sentiments of generosity, made provisions for others, those who came next from France exaggerated the misfortunes from which they had escaped, in order to be intitled to the same bounty. The gazettes were filled, the pulpits resounded, with the cruelties of the persecutions in France; and pictures were every where in the hands of the rich, and prints in those of the poor, which represented the tortures used against those who stood stedfast to the religion of their fathers. Louis XIV. by an ill-timed piece of spleen, united the interests of the Prince and of religion when he seized the revenues of the principality of Orange, and bestowed them upon one whose sons had taken refuge in Holland on account of their religion. Fagel, the pensionary of Holland, by a well-timed fiction on the other hand, united the causes of the Kings of France and England, when, in the beginning of the year 1687, he assured his countrymen in their councils, that these two Princes were in a league, with united fleets, soon to attack them†. Touched already in their tenderest parts, their religion and commerce at home, and hearing of the advances to the establishment of popery in England, the Dutch considered the protestant cause in England to be that of the protestants in Holland, and already, in imagination, beheld themselves surrounded with enemies and persecutors. The merchants threatened to massacre those who had shown themselves averse to the interests of the Prince: The clergy animated the people in his cause: All opposition of party ceased in an instant: And all his countrymen looked

* D'Avaux.

† Ibid. 17th January, 7th March 1686, et passim. See William Trumball's letter to Lord Sunderland, July 17-27, 1685-6, in the paper-office.

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up to him as the only person who could a second time preserve his country from ruin*.

EVEN from the dangers which surrounded Holland, the Prince knew he could derive the advantage of preparing armaments, without raising suspicion that England was their object. The Dutch were already at war with the Algerines, whose fleets were cruising on their coasts. They had the prospect of a war with Denmark, and which the Prince of Orange's friends pretended to be more certain than it was. The French had put a fleet to sea, which the Prince gave out was intended to intercept the Spanish plate-ships coming from the Indies †, and to attack Cadiz, in both of which the Dutch had great riches. Their ambassadors had been treated by the French court with a haughtiness, which republicans are of all men the least capable of bearing ‡. The King of England was preparing a great navy, more from his love of naval affairs, than from a view to make any use of it; yet he had lately sent some angry messages to the States, concerning the old affair of Bantam, and the reception given in Holland to those who had been in rebellion against him. These things pointed out to the Dutch the necessity of an armament at sea. And the measures which France at this time took, to put the cardinal of Furstenburgh in possession of the electorate of Cologne, convinced them, that there was an equal necessity of increasing their land-forces.

THE Prince knew, that, at this time, a great part of the British subjects was dissatisfied with the conduct of their sovereign; and that even the English army and navy, which are commonly the last to desert the support of that authority which commands and maintains them, were unsettled in their allegiance: He considered that he had a veteran army of the best troops in Europe to combat against an army so affected, new raised, not disciplined, and unacquainted with war; that in such an attempt his whole force would act together, whereas that of the King of England must neces-

* D'Avaux.
in the paper-office.

† Ibid. 1686, and Sir William Trumball's correspondence
‡ Sir William Trumball to Lord Sunderland,
29th June 1706, in the paper-office.

surely be dispersed to make head against different insurrections in different places; that England being open, unprovided with forts, and the seat of its government defenceless, and within a few days march of the sea, the war could not be protracted to teach war by experience to the English, but must be ended by a single battle; and that the very boldness of the enterprise, in one of his usual caution, would strike universal terror into an enemy astonished, distracted, suspecting, and who had reason for suspicion.

WHETHER the Prince intended by his enterprize only to inquire into the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, to reconcile the King to his people, and to engage both in a war against France, or to dethrone him, and take the direction of that war to himself, is only known to that God who is the searcher of hearts. It is probable he resolved to direct himself by events according as they should present themselves. For, as he had formerly urged on the exclusion, when seconded by one half of the nation, he fell upon the same principles, to accept the crown, if offered by the whole.

BUT, as it was to England herself that the Prince chiefly trusted for success, he was extremely solicitous, before he took his final resolution, to know, with certainty, the reception he was to expect in that country. He had declined taking any part as long as the breach was forming between the King and the church, only by letters privately encouraging those with whom he had interest to stand firm to their religion. But, after Lord Rochester was removed from the head of the administration in England, and after Ireland was committed to the hands of Tyrconnel, the Prince, with whom Fagel had acted in concert, took advantage of the fears excited by Fagel's intimation of an approaching war with England and France*, to prevail with the States to send an embassy-extraordinary into England. The ambassador chosen was Dykvelt, one of the three who had been sent in the year 1672 to beg peace from the late King; and who had, at that time, formed the most extensive connections with the whig-party in England. His public instructions

The Prince's
movements
in England.

* D'Avaux. Burnet.

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from the States were, to demand an explanation of the King's armaments, and of the angry messages he had sent them. But his private instructions from the Prince were, to unite the heads of parties in England, and to assure them of his protection in defence of their religion and liberties. To the church of England, Dykvelt, in the Prince's name, promised supreme attention; to the dissenters, the friendship which might be expected from brothers in religion; oblivion for what was past to those who had concurred in the King's measures; and liberty to all.

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UPON the return of Dykvelt, a more public method was taken for the Prince's acquiring popularity, without appearing to affect it. Although the Prince and Princess had, by Allbeville the King's ambassador *, sent the most explicit declarations of their sentiments to the King upon the alterations he was making in religion in England; yet James employed Stuart, Lord Melfort's secretary, whom Fagel, on account of the eminence of his parts, had long honoured with his friendship, to apply to Fagel to prevail with the Prince and Princess to join their interests with his for the abolition of the tests and penal laws. Fagel, upon this, wrote in the Prince's name to Stuart, "That the Prince was willing to concur in any laws for liberty of conscience. But that he would never consent to the repeal of the tests, which, by confining public offices to those of the national religion, were the surest barriers against popery." A declaration of sentiments which pleased the church of England, gained the dissenters, and, if it provoked the Roman Catholics, provoked those only whom the Prince knew to be already his enemies. The letter † was instantly printed and dispersed through every part of Holland and of the British dominions.

* Stuart's letter to Fagel. Fagel's letter to Stuart, and subsequent publication by Fagel.

† Stuart afterwards, in a publication, denied that the correspondence was authorised by the King, but in a way which betrayed that it was. Three years after Stuart was made Lord Advocate for Scotland by King William, upon Sir John Dalrymple's being appointed secretary of state.

The letter itself is dated in January 1688, and D'Avaux mentions the publication in his letter of 8th January that year.

COUNT ZULESTEINE*, who was sent ambassador to felicitate the King upon the birth of the Prince of Wales, and who arrived soon after the trial of the bishops, returned in a few weeks † with an invitation in form, from a great number of the most considerable persons in Britain, for the Prince of Orange to come over with an armed force to call his legitimacy in question. It is difficult to name with certainty all those who concurred in this invitation; and, to name a few, might appear to detract from the honour of the rest, though unjustly: For, while other great revolutions of state have been the consequence of long intrigue, or the effects of instant revenge, the favour which the Prince's enterprize found in Britain sprung from the impulse of reason and liberty; an impulse which affected almost the whole nation, though all had it not equally in their power to contribute to his success. Certain it is, that the most pressing calls came from the tories, who, upon this occasion, discovered, that they and their opponents in party had hitherto differed, not so much about the right to resist, as about the degree of provocation which justified resistance. Those who were publicly known to have done most service to the Prince at this time were, the Admirals Russel and Herbert, the one prompted by revenge for the death of his cousin Lord Russel, and the other by family-pride and his own spirit. These two men spread discontents among the English seamen, contributing thus to remove from the minds of the Dutch the only terror they had in invading England. Russel, at this important crisis, submitted to the duties of a messenger, sailing often between England and Holland, to preserve the communications between the parties of both countries. Lord Mordaunt, with the impetuosity of mind which carried him in a succeeding reign triumphantly through Spain, was the first ‡ of the English nobility who quitted England, attached himself to the Prince, and pressed him to an expedition into England. He was followed by Lord Shrewsbury, who threw up his regiment, mortgaged his estate for L. 40,000, and offered his sword and fortune to the Prince. Lord Danby, with more art, managed the Prince's interests with the tories, the bishop of London with

* Ancestor to the Earl of Rochford.

† D'Avaux, July 1, and 20.

‡ Burnet, vol. i. p. 762.

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the church, and the Earl of Devonshire*, known formerly by the name of Lord Cavendish, but more by his generous friendship for the unfortunate Lord Ruffel, with many of the whigs. The Earl of Manchester, and the Marquis of Winchester's eldest son, waited on the Prince: The former returned to make preparations for his arrival, the latter attended him in his voyage. Danby's son, Lord Dumblain, who had a frigate of his own, employed it in carrying money, and, what was more valuable, his father's counsels, into Holland. Herbert was the first †, who, with the bluntness of a seaman, suggested to the Prince of Orange to lay aside ceremony, and attack the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. After his arrival, which was in the month of July in the year 1688 ‡, the Prince of Wales was prayed for no longer in the Prince of Orange's chapel. Lord Drumlanrig §, son to the Duke of Queensberry, and Sir John Dalrymple, son to Lord Stair, the one at London, the other at Edinburgh, managed the intercourse with their own countrymen. The Earl of Argyle, though an exile, and attainted, prepared his own tribe to fight against a family which had put the father and grandfather of their chieftain to death. The Duke of Queensberry's brother, General Douglass, who commanded the Scotch army, engaged either to shake its loyalty, or to render that loyalty ineffectual. Mr. Fletcher of Salton, who was then serving as a volunteer in Hungary, hastened to Holland, and, without being solicited, or soliciting others, was ready with his sword, because he thought it his duty to draw it. Lord Stair sent over gentlemen prudent, long tried, and faithful, from Holland to Scotland § to keep up the connection between the two countries. He was above all others of the Scotch trusted by the Prince of Orange, because, in the late reign, he had withstood equally the threats and the promises of Chudleigh the English ambassador in Holland ¶. Henry Sidney, brother to the great and unfortunate Algernon Sidney, after conducting every step of party in England and in Holland, prepared now to share or to revenge his brother's

* Duke of Devonshire's patent in Collins, p. 325.

† D'Avaux.

‡ Ibid. 20th July, 22d July.

§ Lord Balcarras.

§ Lord Stair's vindication.

¶ Chudleigh's letter to Sir Leoline Jenkins, Hague, 20th August 1683, in the paper-office.

fate. Many of the old whigs lavished their money * in a cause for which their party had formerly shed their blood. Hampden exposed himself anew to the judgment of the law on the side of liberty. Lord Nottingham † once engaged, but afterwards drew back, acknowledging to his friends, that they had a right to take away the life of that person who was now become master of theirs: But, by a delicacy of honour in all points, he preserved his respect to the King by not quitting him, and to his friends by not betraying them. It is reported that Lord Cuts, upon seeing him go to court, where he had not been for some time, proposed to dispatch him; but Lord Danby prevented the intention, saying, "Lord Nottingham is the only man in England who can appear at court, and yet not discover the concern he is under." The secret was opened ‡ at a distance to Halifax by Sidney; but he pretended not to understand Sidney's meaning; after which the Prince gave orders || to trust him no further. It was once proposed to communicate it to the Lord chamberlain Mulgrave. After the Prince of Orange came to the throne, he told this to Mulgrave, and asked him, What he would have done, if he had been applied to? Mulgrave generously answered, "I would have told it to the master whom I then served." The Prince, with equal generosity, replied, "I could not have blamed you." Many discontented Lords and gentlemen, who had retired from England, Scotland, and Ireland to the Continent, flocked to the Prince. All those who had been driven from any of these countries, in the late or the present reign, justly or unjustly, joined them; some, to attain the reward of their virtues, others, to procure the oblivion of their crimes. The persons who were thought to have conferred the greatest obligations upon the Prince of Orange, were Lord and Lady Sunderland, and Lord and Lady Churchill: The two former, because one of them imparted the King's secrets to his uncle Henry Sidney, who resided with the Prince, and the other to the Princess of Orange; and the two latter, because they persuaded the Prince and Princess of Denmark § to join in a communication of measures with him. Lord Churchill had been raised by the King,

* D'Avaux, September 1688.

† Burnet, vol. 1. 1764.

‡ Burnet.

Clarendon's diary.

|| Duke of Buckingham, vol. 2. p. 85. Clarendon's diary.

§ Clarendon's diary.

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from the station of a page at court, to a high command in the army, a large fortune, and a peerage; so that his conduct has by some been imputed to the height of principle, and, by others, to the total want of it. But, perhaps, the man who conferred the greatest obligations of all upon the Prince of Orange at the critical time of the revolution itself, was the Duke of Grafton. He had asked the command of the fleet in place of Lord Dartmouth, but James had refused his request. Either irritated by this, or inflamed with the love of liberty, he went privately to the fleet, and obtained a promise from two thirds of the captains, that they would not oppose the Prince of Orange, and informed the Prince of what he had done*. It was concerted, that as soon as the Prince landed in England, his friends should disperse into their several counties, to raise insurrections, and distract the common enemy. All these persons kept the secret firm to each other.

His secret
preparations
in Holland.

THE Prince, who was as swift in executing as he was slow in resolving, preserved the same secrecy in those things which were more immediately his province. Having resolved to make his expedition into England in the ensuing winter, because that season would make it difficult for France to attack his own country during his absence, he began his preparations with the new year. The first six months were spent in providing money, armaments at home, and alliances with neighbouring states, for the security of the Dutch frontiers. Provisions, all of which bore a natural relation to the defence of Holland, without pointing out any intention of an attack upon England. As the fortifications on the side of Brabant were in need of repairs, the Prince procured from the States a credit of four millions of guilders for that service, payable, by annual proportions, in four years†. But, taking advantage of the flow of money into Holland, which attended the flight of the French refugees, he made use of the credit to raise all the fund in one year; after which he contrived, that difficulties should be started, in applying and proportioning the money to the fortresses. In the same way‡ he diverted to his own use another fund, nearly equal in value, which

* The Duke of Grafton told this circumstance to Lord Dover, and he to King James.

† D'Avaux.

‡ D'Avaux, 15 October, 27 July, 1688.

had been destined by the States for another purpose: And, instead of collecting the revenues of the admiralty, as had been formerly done, he farmed them out, in order to establish a new bottom of credit. He prevailed on the States to equip forty ships of war against the Algerines, and secretly added twelve to them by his own authority. Some time before, he had made a more important attempt by a demand upon the King of England to send twenty English ships of war into the Dutch harbours, to be ready for the same service, according to an old treaty between the two nations; but which that Prince avoided to comply with. The Dutch ships, as fast as got ready, were sent out to different stations remote from England, with orders to remain there for some time, and then to return: A stratagem which concealed equally the greatness of the armament, and its object. Under pretence of protecting the electorate of Cologne, he encamped an army at Nimeguen, part of which could fall from thence down to the sea, in a few days. Under pretence of adjusting the confederacy against France, the Prince, or his favourite Bentinck, afterwards Duke of Portland, conferred personally with the Elector of Brandenburg, who was flattered with the prospect of the survivance of the Stadtholdership for his son; with the Elector of Saxony; the Landgrave of Hesse; the Princes of the house of Lunenburgh; other German Princes; and the governor of the Spanish Netherlands. It was agreed, that the Germans should replace with their own troops upon the Rhine, those which the Prince was to carry with him into England; and that the Spanish forces should protect the Dutch frontier on the side of the Netherlands, and garrison their towns. Seven thousand Swedes were hired to be transported into Holland *. During these movements, the Elector of Brandenburg died; but with his last breath † recommended the Prince's undertaking to his son. Bentinck was sent to sound the new Elector, and found him more sanguine than even his father had been. The prince intrusted his design only to those personages, or their ministers, and to five of his own countrymen ‡.

* D'Avaux, *passim*.

† Memoirs of Brandenburg by the present King of Prussia.

‡ D'Avaux, 10 September, 1688. Burnet. Verace's letter to Skelton, in the paper-office, confirms this. He says, "Seulement quatre personnes en ont scu tout le detail, et plusieurs autres en ont veu quelques particularités."

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All these, though foreigners, kept the secret as profoundly as the English malecontents, who saw their ruin in a discovery, had done. The King of England believed the Prince's preparations were intended against France. The King of France sometimes thought they were directed against Denmark, and, at other times, against the liberties of the Prince's own country.

BUT the finest stroke of the Prince's policy, was his art in deluding the Pope, Innocent the 11th. Taking advantage of that Pontiff's animosity against France, he made him believe, that the Emperor was to send a great army to the Rhine, that he was to join it with one equally great from Holland, and march at the head of both into France. For the advancement of this project great sums were remitted by the Pope to the Emperor; and these sums thus got from the head of the Roman Catholic world, were employed in the dethronement of a Roman Catholic King*.

His more
public pre-
parations.

BUT, after the Prince had employed the first half of the year in this manner, he was obliged, in his remaining preparations, to take steps which shewed he meditated an important invasion, and that he expected assistance in the country against which it was intended. Numbers of transports were hired, and flat-boats for disembarkation built: Arms were prepared for vast bodies of foot; and saddles, bridles, and boots for cavalry: Magazines of hay were slung in ropes in the sea-ports, to be ready for putting on board in a minute†: Great trains of artillery were gathered from the different towns. Though the Prince could not form new bodies of troops or mariners, without the sanction of the States, he gave directions for engaging 7000 soldiers, and 9000 sailors, to be ready as soon as that sanction should be procured: An extraordinary measure, which marked an extraordinary design. In proportion as the autumn wore on, his preparations of all kinds became more rapid, and more open; a sure sign, that he thought he had little time to lose‡. But,

* I have the most authentic proofs of this intrigue, from copies of letters from the Cardinal D'Etrees to Louvois and Louis the 14th. The originals are in the *depot des affaires etrangeres*.

† D'Avaux.

‡ D'Avaux.

above all, when Marshal Schomberg from Germany suddenly appeared in September, to join in command with the Prince, all men who saw him were satisfied, that the design undertaken was worthy of such generals.

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YET, even during this period, every art was contrived to conceal and distract. The vessels were hired, or bought, in different ports, and under pretence of different adventurers in trade; and were continually ordered to shift their stations. The arms, ammunition, accoutrements, and artillery, were put into boats, and sent up towards Nimeguen. Some of those boats landed their contents, and returned, whose loadings were brought secretly back, in vessels which had been sent up empty, under other pretences; others of them lay concealed among the islands which are formed by the Rhine and the Maese; and others fell down to the sea, by different routs from those by which they had mounted.

WHILE these clouds, which had been gathering from one end of Europe to the other, were ready to burst upon the head of the King of England, he alone continued long unconscious of his danger. Sunderland, having the command of the foreign correspondence, concealed from him what he pleased. The Prince of Orange having differed with Chudleigh the English envoy, one White an Irishman, who had got the title of Marquis of Allbeville in Spain, had been sent ambassador to Holland; a man who received one pension from France, and probably another from Holland, and whose talents were as mean as his mind*. Upon the resignation

James kept
in the dark.

* D'Avaux, 10th October and 13th February, 1686, says, he got Allbeville his pension from France, and there are a number of Allbeville's letters to the French court in the *depot des affaires etrangeres* at Versailles. Many of D'Avaux's letters make it probable that he acted in the Dutch interest against his master. There are a great number of his letters in the paper-office. These shew, that he was at first an intelligencer to the ministry from Brussels, under the name of Baron de Vicey, a title he got from the Emperor. He appears to have been miserably poor. He solicited an addition of L. 100 a-year to his Irish pension. His letters are ill spelt, full of false grammar, vanity, and weakness, and his hand is scarce legible. I observe, that his letters to Lord Sunderland in the year 1687 or 1688 are not in the paper-office.

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of Sir William Trumball, Skelton had been sent ambassador to France, a man faithful indeed to his master; but who, while envoy in Holland, had quarrelled with the Dutch, and had been driven in a manner from their country*; circumstances, which, together with his poverty†, put it out of his power to maintain intelligence in that country. D'Avaux, the French ambassador at the Hague, gave information from time to time of what he observed, to his own court, and to Barillon the French ambassador at London: But the French court, not displeased to see discord arising between two protestant nations, who were both enemies to France, and between James and his son-in-law, took little notice of his informations‡: And Barillon, desirous that the King should be obliged to ask the assistance of his master, informed him not of all his danger. D'Avaux gave warning also to some in the court of England, but in vain; for, when Sunderland was told of his letters, he treated them§ as visionary. When James heard that the Prince of Wales was not prayed for in the Prince of Orange's chapel, he wrote a letter complaining of it to the Princess: She gave an answer so late as the 17th of August, in which she imputed what was complained of to neglect; and her letter was calculated, in other respects, to dispel all jealousy from the mind of her father. Kennedy, a Scotchman, Lord Conservator of the Scotch privileges at Middleburgh, came over to London in August to inform the King of what he saw, but could not obtain an audience. Citters, the Dutch ambassador§, gave him all the while the most solemn assurances that the Prince's preparations were not intended against him. Castagnana, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, acted the same part. Verace, of Geneva, who had been steward to the Princess of Orange, while the intrigues of the revolution were carrying on, wrote two letters from Geneva to Skelton in August 1688, which gave information of the intrigue of the Prince, the Princess, Bentinck, and Lord Sunderland. Skelton transmitted these letters; but Sunderland

* Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, 13th January, and 9th July 1687, in the paper-office.

† This appears from his correspondence.

‡ D'Avaux, in

many letters, complains strongly of this.

§ D'Avaux.

§ Ibid.

shewed them not to his master*. But that, which above all things, blinded the King, was the natural aversion of the human mind to give faith to news fatal to its peace.

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At last, in the middle of September†, James received the most certain information of the intended invasion, by a letter from Louis XIV. He turned pale and stood motionless: The letter dropped from his hand: His past errors, his future dangers, rushed at once upon his thoughts; he strove to conceal his perturbation, but, in doing so, betrayed it; and his courtiers, in affecting not to observe him, betrayed that they did.

At last gets intelligence of the intended invasion.

THE French King, about the same time, sent Bon Repos, one of his courtiers, with pressing offers to join the French to the English fleet, to land a force in England, and to create a division, by an attack upon Holland: Offers similar to some which Barillon had formerly made, but in a manner which shewed that he did not expect they were to be received. All advised James to reject the assistance: Some, because they were his friends; some, because they were his enemies; many, because they had no inclination to see England made a theatre for the French and Dutch to combat upon. But‡, above all, Sunderland: He remonstrated to the King,

Offers of French assistance.

* The second of Verace's letters, dated Geneva, 15th August 1688, is in the paper-office. The other, though referred to in Skelton's dispatch to Lord Sunderland, is not in that office. The second letter contains these words: " Si j'avois a le dire, cela ne seroit qu' au Roy meme, parce que cela interesse S. A. R. aussi bien que le Prince et Monf. de Bentinck, et encore un troisieme en chef. Il est vrai que cela interesse beaucoup plus ces deux derniers, et encore un troisieme en chef, sans conter plusieurs autres."

Skelton's letter of date 28 August, 1688, contains these words: " I am just now extremely alarmed by a discourse in town, spread by Monf. Villars and Nangi, who came last night from Versailles, and say, that there then arrived a courier from Monf. D'Avaux, from the Hague, which brought news, that the Prince of Orange was embarking with 6000 men for England, and had taken arms for 14 more. I cannot believe it, nor can I get an answer from Monf. De Croissy, before the going away of the post, to whom I have sent to know the truth."

† The first public intimation of the invasion is in the Gazette, October 1.

‡ Sunderland's apology.

D d

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“ If the French sent over a small force, it would serve only to irritate
“ his subjects, without aiding him; if a great one, it might subdue
“ his people and himself. His army and navy, whose discontents
“ had already appeared, would never serve heartily with papists and
“ with Frenchmen, and perhaps might turn their arms against
“ their new allies. All the troubles of his brother's reign had
“ arisen from his connections with France, and his breaches with
“ Holland: If an attack should be made upon Holland in his service,
“ it would confirm a suspicion, entertained by too many, that he had
“ formed a league with France for the destruction of the protestant
“ religion and the liberties of England.” James saw equal danger in
accepting or refusing, in exposing himself to rebellion from his sub-
jects, or to obligations from his neighbours. National glory, and his
own pride prevailed; and he refused protection from a power, the
hereditary enemy of his own: Yet, as soon as he had done so, he
repented; and, concealing the measure from all, even from Sunder-
land, he wrote to the French King, intreating him to keep a fleet of
ships of war ready at Brest.

Officers ca-
shiered for
refusing po-
pish recruits.

WHILST the King's mind was preying upon itself, and boding
evil from its state of uncertainty, an accident happened, which
might have given him a prescience of what was to come. His
natural son, the Duke of Berwick, had given orders to receive a
band of Irish popish recruits into his regiment*. The Lieutenant-
Colonel Beaumont, and five captains, Paston, Parke, Orme, Cook,
and Port, remonstrated to the Duke, that it was inconsistent with
their honour to receive them; and asked leave to resign, if their
scruples could not be complied with. The king, who was then at
Windfor, being informed of this by express, sent a guard of horse for
the officers, and cashiered them. The spirit of the officers
inflamed the army with emulation, and their punishment with
resentment.

James makes
advances to
the church.

As it is natural for men in fear to be afraid of those whom they have
offended, James gave orders for taking off the Bishop of London's
suspension: He invited such of the bishops as were in town to con-

* Clarendon's diary, Sept. 12. L. K. W. v. 3. p. 321.

fer with him upon the state of his affairs. But here his spirits failed him; their appearance threw him into confusion; and he dismissed them with some general expressions of civility. The bishops, however, who were most of them sincerely attached to monarchy, and who were desirous to restore the King to the nation, if he could be restored to the church, presented a plan of advices for the settlement of the nation. In these, they counselled him to put the government of the counties into the hands of protestants; to annul the ecclesiastical commission, and never renew it; to restore the president and fellows of Magdalen college; to grant no dispensations in church or state, or the universities, or the schools; to allow the dispute concerning the dispensing power to be settled in parliament; to inhibit the four vicars apostolical; to fill the ecclesiastical vacancies; and, as the archbishop of Canterbury suggested, the chair of York with one of their own number; to stop the prosecutions of *quo warrantos*; and to restore to corporations their ancient rights; to call a parliament; and finally, to permit the bishops to lay before him such arguments as might restore him to the communion of the church of England.

THESE wise counsels, but to the King bitter, he received with thanks, and promises of compliance. The new friendship of the bishops with the King, brought resentment upon them, without taking any off him. The dissenters complained that their interests had not been mentioned at all by the bishops in their petition. The Prince of Orange's partizans exclaimed, that they were betrayed by such of the bishops as had been associated with them; the more violent whigs, that the church was always willing to give up the cause of the people, if her own interests were secured; and many of the church of England, that the bishops were the dupes of their own credulity. Men zealous for the constitution asked, Upon what principle the prelates, in place of the lords and commons, were called to settle the nation?

JAMES was pleased to see divisions arise, even from accident, among those whom he dreaded had been united against him:

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Unhappy satisfaction to a Prince, over whom invasion and rebellion impended. He hastened his reconciliation with the church; he doubled his attentions to the bishops; he followed the advices they had given him, as fast as the time and the forms of office would allow. Among other things, having received intelligence that the restoration of the charter of the city of London was to have been one of the articles of the petition of the bishops, he ordered it to be restored before the petition was presented. Jeffreys carried it in great pomp to Guildhall. But the sight of the man who had been the cause of the disgrace of the city, took away the merit of the concession in the eyes of the citizens. Sunderland * urged James to those acts of grace, either to gain popularity to himself, or to convince his master of his zeal for his service, or to shew the King's enemies the pusillanimity of the King.

Preparations
of James.

JAMES made preparations in the mean time for his defence, with the vigour of his former life. He increased his army and his navy, the one to 40,000 men, the other to sixty-one ships, of which thirty-eight were of the line. Commissions were issued for raising bodies of men, to those persons of rank who offered him their services; a generous, but pernicious measure; for several asked the power of raising men, who had resolved to employ them against him. The militia was ordered to be embodied; another fatal measure to an unpopular Prince. Strickland having been removed from the command of the fleet, because he was unpopular, and Lord Dartmouth, who was the idol of the sea-men, placed at its head, the King stationed it at the Gunfleet, off Harwich, to wait for the Dutch. He drew almost all his forces towards the capital, leaving only a sufficiency to guard the keys of the kingdom: He brought 3000 Irish troops to Chester, and all the troops from Scotland, which were about the same number, to Carlisle, in order to prevent insurrections in the west and the north. Lord Balcarras opposed this last measure, because he foresaw it would lose Scotland to the King; and, when his advice was not followed, he sent a scheme to Lord Mellfort's office, for applying 100,000*l.* which was at that time, by accident, in the

* Sunderland's apology.

Scotch treasury, to raise the whole body of the well affected highlanders, and to march them into England; but the scheme was not presented to James, either because the letter was not delivered to Mellfort, or because Mellfort, who was at enmity with Balcarras, envied him the honour of the project. James ordered the cattle to be driven from the coast upon the first appearance of an enemy's fleet: He issued a proclamation against dispersing rumours, or complaining of government, in the present dangerous crisis: He was surrounded with volunteers of quality and distinction, whom, in his happier hours, he had graced with his favours. The generous appearance of Colonel Beaumont and his five officers, to guard that honour which had been regardless of theirs, touched the mind of the King with a bitter, yet tender sensation. He was advised to seize the heads of the whig party, and also Lord Churchill, and Lord Dartmouth; but he rejected the advice, either from generosity of mind, or to create a belief, that he feared neither open nor concealed enemies.

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1688.

As soon as James received intelligence of the Prince of Orange's designs, he ordered Allbeville to demand from the States General, an explanation of the intention of the armaments which were making in Holland; hoping that the States, for the interest of their own country, might be prevailed upon to make a distinction between the cause of the Prince of Orange, and that of Holland. About this time, Skelton, the British envoy at Paris, anxious because his master refused the assistance of France, gave a hint to Monsieur de Croissy, the French King's minister, that, if Louis would threaten the Dutch, he might serve the King of England as effectually by his authority, as he could have done by his succours. Louis was too desirous of a handle to meddle in the affairs of England, not to improve upon this hint. He gave orders to D'Avaux to present a memorial to the States on the subject of English affairs. The memorial contained these words: "That the ties of friendship and alliance between his master and the King of England, obliged him not only to assist him, but also to look on the first act of hostility as an open rupture with his crown." The memorial was delivered to the States two days after the King of England's had

Allbeville's memorial to the States of Holland.

been delivered; and therefore the two had the appearance of having been concerted together.

ALL measures and all accidents proved fatal to James: This interposition, intended for his advantage, brought mischief upon him. Those members of the States who were of the Prince's party had long put implicate confidence in that wisdom and courage which had saved their country. The members of the Louvestin faction, with that envy which attends all factions, were not without hopes that he might perish, or be affronted in the attempt: And the neutral members, who attended only to the mercantile interest of Holland, were not dissatisfied to create trouble to a King, whose political passion was the love of naval affairs, and in whose reign, and his brother's, notwithstanding the distractions of both, the trade of England had flourished more than it had ever done before. The States therefore alarmed, or pretending to be alarmed, with the expression, "alliance," in the French memorial, exclaimed, "That it discovered there was a secret treaty between the Kings of England and France, which could never have been concealed from them, had it not been intended against them," took advantage of the accident of the coincidence of time in the delivery of the memorials, gave no answer to the French one, and, in order to throw the odium of the war upon James, made answer to the English ambassador, "That they had armed in imitation of his master, whose secret alliance with France justified them in what they did." James was sensible of the advantage which this accident gave the Dutch over him: He recalled Skelton, committed him to the tower, and gave the most solemn assurances to the Dutch, that there was no treaty between him and the French which was not known to all the world. The States, who resolved not to be undeceived, feigned incredulity and terror. Their policy passed for conviction, and made their countrymen more zealous against the cause of a King, whom they believed to be confederating with their mortal enemy for their destruction. Private persons considered the cause of the Prince as their own, and entered into it with all the enthusiasm of public and of private passion. We are obliged for an anecdote of this kind to a great monarch, who has found it not

incompatible with the cares and pomp of royalty, to write the history of that country whose glories he has extended. A Dutch Jew of Amsterdam, named Schwartzaw, hastened with an hundred thousand pounds to the Prince. "If you are fortunate," said he, "I know you will pay me; if you are not, the loss of my money will be the least of my afflictions*." The belief of an alliance between France and James rebounded from Holland to England, and cooled the few lukewarm friends he had there.

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1688.

IN the mean time, the Prince of Orange was beginning to experience, in his English friends who attended him, that spirit of party and politics which consumed with vexation the remainder of his life. They differed among themselves about the terms of the declaration which the Prince was to disperse in England. They were divided into two parties, each of which insisted to have its own principles and tenets in government and religion, and those only, expressed in the declaration. The Lords Mordaunt and Macclesfield even threatened to quit the enterprize, if the sentiments they were fond of were not made the foundation of the cause which all were engaged in. Some insisted to make the faults of the late reign part of their complaints, because that reign had been under the influence of the Duke of York; while others thought, that looking back would provoke the tory-party. Some proposed to look forward, and pointed at making republican principles the foundation of the expedition; while others protested against whatever could injure the constitution and kingly government. The Dutch were amused to see such heats, upon such subjects, among men who were disputing with axes hanging over them. But the Prince grew uneasy, took the drawing of the paper from both sides, and gave it to Dykvelt, who, being of neither party, took privately the advice of Stuart who was then at London, and drew one which pleased both †.

Differences
in the
Prince's
English
councils.

* Memoirs of Brandenburg.

† During the intended French invasion into Scotland in the year 1708, the English fleet at the mouth of the frith of Forth was mistaken at Edinburgh for the French. Upon that occasion, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Lord President of the court of session, who was flying into England himself, advised Sir James Stuart to do

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1688.

THE English next differed upon the manner of conducting the invasion; some inclining to land in the south-west, and others in the north east parts of England. Lord Danby directed his friends to advise the Prince to the latter: An advice founded in public upon Danby's great interest in those parts, upon the facility of being supplied with horses in Yorkshire, and of being joined there by the malecontents both of England and of Scotland, and upon the terrors imprinted by Jeffreys's executions in the west not yet worn away; but which in private arose from Danby's desire to ingross the Prince to himself, and to assume the merit of the first important service in his cause. On the other hand, Admiral Herbert insisted, that the fleet could not ride in safety on the east coast, in an easterly wind, which was to be expected at that season of the year: Those who joined with him, observed, that, if the Prince landed in the north, he might be inclosed between the two armies of England and Scotland; and that the country from thence to London was woody and inclosed, whereas that between the west and the capital was open and subject to no danger or delay. The Prince secretly resolved to prefer the latter opinion, chiefly, because he had no time for a lingering war; yet kept his resolution within his own breast, to hold his enemies in uncertainty. Some again proposed, that the ships of war and the fleet should sail together: Others pressed with warmth, that the ships of war should be sent to fight Lord Dartmouth; and that, in the mean time, the transports should be kept ready with the troops on board, to take advantages of circumstances, and slip over. The Prince was obliged to interpose here. He argued, "Loss of time was loss of every thing: The English on their own coasts might avoid or prolong engagements as they pleased: In the mean time the troops must suffer by being kept on board: A sudden frost might even lock up the fleet altogether." When they were not convinced by his arguments, he required obedience, and issued commands. Men who had refused obedience to their own Prince, because he had

so too, putting him in mind that he had had a hand in drawing the Prince of Orange's manifesto, he answered, "Ay, ay, my dear, that is true; and I must draw this man's too." This is a story well known to both families.

not their esteem, gave up their own wills instantly to that of another, though a foreigner, because he possessed it.

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1688.

AFTER all these matters were adjusted, the Prince published his declaration, and caused disperse it through England. It complained of the King's counsellors, not of the King: "These," it was said, "had advised him to assume dispensing and suspending powers, which laid all the laws at the foot of the throne; and the first exertion of those powers had been displayed in breaking down the barriers contrived for the security of the protestant religion. An ecclesiastical court was revived, which had long been abolished by the legislature: In this court the properties of the church had been wrested from her; her dignities invaded, and her members persecuted. A regular plan had been carried on, for the establishment of popery in England; for monasteries and convents had been erected, colleges of Jesuits founded, popish churches and chapels openly built, public stations crowded with papists, and a person who was a papist, a priest, and a Jesuit, avowed to be one of the King's ministers of state. The political liberties of the nation had been violated; for the charters of many boroughs had been seized, their protestant magistrates removed, and popish ones put in their places. A parliament had been delayed to be summoned, until the electors all over Britain were founded, if they would return representatives named by the court; and those electors had been removed from their offices who had refused to comply. The civil liberties of the subjects were not in safety; seeing judges had been displaced for giving judgments according to their consciences, and others put in their places who had none; and the common privilege of every citizen to lay his prayers before that Sovereign Power which rules his actions, had been persecuted in the persons of those who were prelates of England and Lords of parliament. Even the security of property had been unhinged; because the tribunals were filled with men whose religion made void, in law, all the judgments they pronounced. The whole government of Ireland was in the hands of papists, by which the protestants were daily flying from a country, in which their ancestors had

The Prince
publishes his
declaration.

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“ been massacred by the ancestors of those who had now all power
“ over them. Scotland had been robbed of her liberty, and the
“ arbitrary power of the King over that country asserted even in
“ those papers of state which generally draw a veil over the dis-
“ graces of those to whom they are addressed. To crown all, it was
“ suspected by the Prince and the nation, that a measure had been
“ taken, to secure the continuance of the present calamities by im-
“ posing the birth of a Prince of Wales upon the public. States
“ depended for their duration upon the maintenance of their laws;
“ and, where these were attempted to be overturned, it was the
“ duty of all interested in their preservation to interpose. The Prince
“ had been solicited to do so, by many of the peers both spiritual
“ and temporal, and of all other orders, and by some who were
“ known to be the most attached to the cause of the crown: The
“ Princess's rights, which were in danger, made it his duty to her
“ to comply with their desires. He had undertaken his present ex-
“ pedition with no other view than to get a free parliament assem-
“ bled, which might remedy those grievances, inquire into that
“ birth, and secure national religion and liberty, under a just and
“ legal government, for the future.” Expressions generous and
open to appearance, yet ambitious and ambiguous in reality; which,
under the decorum of not complaining of the King personally,
avoided an explanation upon the Prince's submission to his title;
and, by referring the settlement of the nation to a free parliament,
kept it open for that assembly to determine the question, if the
throne could be filled by a Roman catholick. Sunderland's change of
religion was with affectation twice complained of, the more effectually
to conceal the reason of his apostacy.

WHILST this declaration was dispersing, James had removed the
foundations of many things complained of in it, by recalling the
unpopular measures pointed out to him by the bishops. But the
Prince published a supplement, in which he remonstrated, “ The
“ recal of a part of the late measures was a confession of the vio-
“ lations of which he had complained: But it arose only from the
“ consciousness of guilt, and from present danger. The nation
“ might see what faith was due to future promises, from the re-

“gard that had been shewn to the past. A general declaration of
 “the rights of the subject in full parliament, not particular and
 “temporary acts of grace yielded in the present circumstances of
 “things, was the only mean to secure for ever the establishment of
 “those rights.”

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1688.

BESIDES this manifesto, there was published a letter from the Prince to the army, another from Herbert to the seamen, and a tract directed to the people, which had been composed by Burnet, in defence of the lawfulness of the Prince's undertaking: Papers all necessary in a nation, the meanest artizans of which study political disputes when alone, with more ardour than those of higher condition in other nations talk of them in society. The Prince's letter picqued the soldiers on the honour of their profession: “Their English protestant fellow-soldiers,” it said, “had been cashiered in Ireland without reason, and with disgrace; and Roman catholics exalted in their places. Irish papists had been forced likewise upon the army in England, and the officers stripped of their commissions who had opposed it. As theirs would chiefly be the crime, if the nation was subjected to tyranny; so theirs would chiefly be the honour, if its liberty was saved. Should they miss the present opportunity, they would find, that, after enslaving the rest of their countrymen, only the poor consolation would remain to them, of becoming the last slaves in the nation themselves.” The prince concluded with promising military rewards to those who should join him, and most to those who should soonest do so. Herbert's letter to the seamen was blunt and rough, suited to his manners and to theirs: He told them, “Infamy or ruin to their fortunes would attend their opposition to the prince. Infamy, if he failed of success; dismission from service, if he succeeded.” Burnet's tract, by an investigation of principles, and deduction of consequences, was calculated for the inquisitive and reasoning spirit of that nation to which it was addressed. These papers, in imitation of the Prince's manifesto, averred, that the prince had been invited over by a great number of officers of the army and fleet: Stratagems contrived partly to oblige

Other public papers published by his followers.

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1688.

The King's
interview
with the bi-
shops.

the Prince's friends to throw off the mask, and partly to create jealousy in the King of his own party, and in his party of one another.

JAMES was alarmed, on reading the Prince's declaration, to find, that some, accounted faithful to the cause of the crown, had invited the Prince to attack him; but was confounded when he found, that some of his new allies, the bishops, were of the number. In order to put them to the test, he sent for * the archbishop of Canterbury, and desired him to assemble the bishops, and draw up a paper, which should testify their abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's design. The archbishop made his excuse, that there were few bishops in town. The King next shewed the bishop of London that part of the Prince's declaration which related to his order, and asked him if it was true? The bishop gave this ambiguous answer: "I am confident the rest of the bishops will as readily answer in the negative as myself." The King then sent for five bishops who were in town, and renewed the desire he had expressed to the archbishop. They desired time † to deliberate. The bishops of London, Rochester, Peterborough, with the archbishop, met privately, and resolved to avoid complying with the demand that had been made upon them. The first, because he could not in honour; the second, because he saw the times changing; and the two last, ‡ because they were irritated with their late persecution. These four were soon sent for again to the palace. The king asked for their paper. The archbishop, after several excuses for not framing it, proposed, that the other bishops should be summoned to town from the country, in order that all might take their measures together; the King answered, "The thing would admit of no delay." The bishop of Peterborough, who was most suspected, said, "That if the King would publish the disavowal of the bishops, it would be the same thing, as if they did it themselves." The King interrupted him: "A few lines from themselves would do better." One of the bishops

* Archbishop's relation in append. to Clarendon's diary.
chester's relation.

† Bishop of Ro-

‡ Clarendon's append. p. 317.

suggested, that as some of the lay Lords were said, in the declaration, to have invited the Prince, these lay Lords, who were in town, should meet with the bishops to deliberate with them. The King objected, "This would take up too much time: And still insisted with the bishops for an abhorrence of the Prince's cause. The archbishop, in the name of the rest, answered, "We are the "messengers of peace, not the denouncers of war." "Then," cried out the King with vehemence, "I must trust to my own "arms," and left them abruptly. From the Scotch prelates, indeed, he met with more docility: They published a declaration, in which they prayed, "That Providence might give the King the "hearts of his subjects, and the necks of his enemies."

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BOOK V.

1688.

ONE yet more bitter task remained for a King and a father. He assembled the privy council, the nobility, the bishops, the magistracy of the city, the judges, and many other orders and persons, and made them the following speech, which I transcribe literally, because it best expresses the state of things, and of the King's mind, at the time: "I have called you together upon a very extraordinary occasion; but extraordinary diseases must have extraordinary remedies. The malicious endeavours of my enemies have so poisoned the minds of some of my subjects, that, by the reports I have from all hands, I have reason to believe, that many do think this son, which God has pleased to bless me with, to be none of mine, but a supposed child. But I may say, that, by a particular Providence, scarce any Prince was born, where there were so many persons present. I have taken this time to have the matter heard and examined here, expecting that the Prince of Orange, with the first easterly wind, will invade the kingdom; and therefore I thought it necessary to have it now done, in order to satisfy the minds of my subjects, and to prevent this kingdom being engaged in blood and confusion after my decease."

Inquiry into
the birth of
the Prince
of Wales.

He then caused to be examined about forty witnesses, to prove the birth of the Prince of Wales: All these, persons of the highest rank, of the most unquestioned credit, in matters not of opinion, but which

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1688.

fell under the cognizance of their senses, ascertained the legitimacy of the Prince. The depositions were ordered to be recorded in chancery. Notwithstanding this solemn proof, many still continued to believe, and more pretended to do so, that the birth of the Prince was an imposture; putting thus the noblest of causes, that of liberty and of human nature, upon a false and mean foundation. The Princess of Denmark, under pretence of being with child herself, though she was not, avoided being present at these examinations, and afterwards made them the common subject * of her merriment with her women. The Archbishop, Lord Clarendon, and Lord Nottingham, upon this occasion, refused to take their seats among the privy counsellors, because Father Petre was upon the list, though, by the King's orders, he was absent, and they placed themselves among the Lords.

The Prince
detained by
cross winds.

WHILE these things were passing in England, the Prince of Orange, who had all things ready, was detained during some weeks †, by his fears for his own country. The troops of the German Princes, always slow in their first motions, were prevented by accidents from setting out on their march towards Nimeguen. The French army was in motion, but its destination not declared; and D'Avaux's memorial gave the Prince too much reason to fear, that that destination was intended against Holland. At last, all the German auxiliaries joined the Dutch camp on the Rhine, to protect Holland; and the French King, irritated by the affront of James's public refusal of his assistance, and disavowal of his ambassador's memorial, left him to his fate, and, with a view to pierce into Germany against the Emperor, laid siege to Philipsburgh, a town far distant from the territories of the Dutch. The Prince, on the news of this, instantly ordered the troops intended for the expedition to drop down the Maese and the Issel from the camp to the two seas. He sent the transports which were in the Texel round to join those which lay at the mouth of the Maese. He appointed the general rendezvous to be at Goree, where most of the ships of war already were. He hastened himself to the sea-coasts. But was prevented from making the embarkation, by a track of south-west

* Clarendon's diary, 79.

† D'Avaux, Oct. 1.

winds which lasted * near three weeks. During this period, in order to heighten terror by suspense, and to swell his armament in the imaginations of the English, by their ignorance of its magnitude and occupation, the Prince stopt † the departure of all vessels for England: And the winds, more effectually than his orders, prevented all news from reaching that kingdom.

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1688.

ALL this while the citizens of London, stopping their ordinary occupations, employed themselves during the day in inquiring for news, and in looking from their windows and doors at the weather-cocks and steeples to see which way the wind blew. Others rose during the night to gratify their curiosity, and spent whole hours in the streets, in prayers for an east-wind, which went at that time by the name of *the protestant wind*. But the rest of the nation in general heard of a foreign army and a foreign fleet coming upon the coast of England, with as much indifference ‡ as if it had been a common occurrence: A state of apathy which, to the wise, appeared more dangerous to the King than all the zeal of those at London against him: For opposition leads to opposition of sentiment: But that Prince approaches to his ruin, whose subjects are unconcerned about his fate. The King gave orders to elevate the sacred host, during forty days, for his protection: And the clergy of Holland and of Britain, in public, wearied Heaven with their prayers, for the success, or the disappointment, of their different Princes.

State of
men's minds
in this inter-
val.

* D'Avaux, Oct. 19, and 25.

† Ibid.

‡ Reresby.

B O O K VI.

THE Prince of Orange takes his Farewell of the States.—Rendezvous at Helvoetsluys.—The Prince sails.—Driven back.—Sails a second Time.—Movements of his Fleet.—He lands at Torbay.—First Events.—James joins his Army.—His intention to send off the Prince of Wales disappointed.—Different Councils given to James in the Camp.—Insurrections.—Flight of Prince George and the Princess.—James retires.—Consternation in London.—James assembles the Peers.—Councils which they give him.—Treaty.—False Manifesto.—Continuance of Insurrections.—Misery of James.—Different Councils given to him in the Court.—Queen's Flight with the Prince of Wales.—Terrors of the King, and his Flight.—State of the City.—Universal Panic of an Irish Massacre.—Council of Peers.—James seized at Feversham.—Returns to London.—Behaviour of the Prince upon this News.—The Dutch enter London in the Night.—The Prince's Message to the King.—James goes to Rochester.—The Prince arrives in London.—James flies to France.

PART I.
BOOK VI.
1688.

THE wind having at last changed to the north-east, the Prince of Orange, on the 16th of October, took his leave of the States at the Hague. He thanked them for all their kindnesses to him in his youth; he said, "He took God to witness, that, since he had been intrusted with the affairs of their commonwealth, he had

The Prince takes his farewell of the States.

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“ never entertained a wish that was contrary to its interest. If he had
 “ erred, he erred as a man, his heart was not to blame. In his pre-
 “ sent enterprize he trusted to Providence. But if any thing fatal
 “ should happen to him, to them he recommended his memory, their
 “ common country, and the Princess his wife, who loved that coun-
 “ try as she did her own: His last thoughts should be upon them and
 “ upon her.” The states feeling, upon the near approach of danger,
 that anxiety to which they had been strangers, when it was more
 distant, interrupted him * with their tears. But, notwithstanding
 the tender sensations in his own breast, and which he discovered in
 theirs, he pronounced his harangue, and took his farewell, with a
 countenance manly and determined. His expressions melted the hearts
 of the tender, his manner commanded those of the brave.

Rendezvous
at Helvoet.

WHEN he arrived at Helvoetsluys, he found his fleet and army
 assembled. The fleet consisted of sixty-five ships of war, of seventy
 vessels of burden to attend them, and of five hundred transports.
 His army was composed of near five thousand cavalry, and about
 eleven thousand infantry, of the best troops of the republic, with
 three hundred French officers, protestant refugees, who had solli-
 cited to be employed, because they thought that, in fighting against
 King James, they fought for their God. Of these troops, the most
 formidable were the six British regiments in the service of the
 Dutch, who had mostly been driven from their country in the
 late and the present reigns; and who, therefore, like other exiles,
 were impatient to exert themselves before foreigners, take ven-
 geance on their enemies, and recover their own possessions and
 honours. Twenty thousand spare arms were prepared for the insur-
 gents in England. The whole artillery of every town in Holland was
 collected for the service of this fleet and army †, and only twelve
 ships of war were left for the defence of the second maritime power
 in Europe. Vast multitudes were assembled at Helvoet; some to
 admire the magnificence of the shew, and others to take farewell
 of their relations and friends. All were agitated with hopes and
 fears: Hopes of success, fears of seeing each other no more. As
 the time of embarking approached, anxieties arose even in the bravest,

* Burnet. D'Avaux. October 26.

† D'Avaux.

when they reflected that they were going to attack the bravest of nations. But, as soon as the embarkation was completed, the view of their own numbers and strength revived the spirits even of the most timid. The fleet was divided into three squadrons, on board of which were troops of different nations. The English and Scotch commanded by General M'Kye*, a Scotchman of a noble family, sailed under the red flag. The Prince's guards and the Brandenburgers, by Count Solms †, a German of still higher birth, under the white, and the Dutch, with the French protestant refugees, by the Count of Nassau, of the Prince's family, under the blue flag. In compliment to England, Herbert led the van: Evertzen a Dutch admiral brought up the rear: The Prince of Orange, with another Dutch admiral, placed himself in the center, his ship carrying the flag of England, and his own arms, with this motto: "I will maintain the protestant religion and the liberties of England."

THE fleet weighed anchor on the 19th of October during the silence of the night; so that no sounds were to be heard, except those which arose from the unfurling of sails, the hauling of ropes, and the voices of the commanders ‡. After the Prince had seen the departure of all the ships, he joined them himself, and took his station. A few hours after the fleet was at sea, the wind turned to the south, and carried it along the coast of Holland, some leagues to the north: So that it continued half a day || in the full sight of Schevelin, a village close adjoining to the Hague, to which all the inhabitants of that town repaired to behold the fleet; some flattered with the grandeur of their republic, others § reflecting with anxiety, that their frontier on one side was in the hands of their ancient tyrants, and, on the other, exposed to an army of foreign mercenaries, all the artillery of their towns carried off, only a few ships of war left in their harbours, and the whole strength of the republic sent, during the rigours of winter, to depend upon the hazards of winds and seas, and the fortune of war.

The Prince sails.

* Life of King William, vol. 3. p. 351.

† D'Avaux, Nov. 1.

|| Ibid.

‡ Busching's geography.

§ D'Avaux.

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Is driven
back by a
storm.

DURING the night the wind changed to the north-west, and a dreadful tempest succeeded, the horror of which was augmented by the darkness of the season, the number of the ships which endangered each other, and the terrors of the landmen, who having been unaccustomed to the sea, either sunk into despair, or perplexed the seamen with unavailing assistance: The number of horses, with the quantity of artillery and baggage, put hastily on board, and ill fastened, added equally to the distraction and the danger. In two hours * the whole fleet was dispersed; so that in the morning scarcely two ships could be seen together. After having been tossed all next day and night in the ocean, some of the ships took refuge in different ports along the coast of Holland and Zealand; and others cast anchor wherever they could hope for a temporary relief, in places where there were no ports to protect them. The Prince re-entered Helvoet † with only four ships of war, and sixty transports, but with a mind calm and unruffled, which reflected more splendour upon him than all the pomp which two days before had attended him. The moment he got into the road, he dispatched coast-pilots ‡ to cruise through the seas between Holland, France, and England, in order to get intelligence of his scattered ships, and with directions for all they should find to rejoin him at Helvoet. In a few days the rest of the fleet began to re-assemble from their different retreats, many of them with their rudders broken, and their sails and tackle flying loose in the air; some with their guns and baggage thrown over board; and a few towed in by other vessels. Nine hundred horses had been cast over board to save the rest: But no ships were missing except one transport, which was driven upon the coast of England, and was taken there: This vessel, by accident, had far more than her own complement of men, having no less than four companies of soldiers on board. Though seamen are apt to observe presages at all times, and most men in times of danger; yet no body fancied more in this storm than the accident of weather. The states deriving fresh vigour from difficulty, directed all losses to be repaired, and the armament to be reinforced. The Prince, by his activity and spirit, inflamed the young,

* Rapin, vol. 2. p. 766.

† D'Avaux, Nov. 1.

‡ Life of K. W. p. 351.

and animated the old, remaining continually on board, and passing from ship to ship to encourage his fellow sufferers. In seven days the fleet was again assembled, and, in four more, was repaired and ready to sail.

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As reports are always increased by distance, it was believed in England, that the whole armament was lost. James received the news at dinner; and, with an appearance of great devotion, remarked, "It is not to be wondered at, for the host has been exposed these several days *!" In order to complete the deception, and to make James lay aside his preparations, the Dutch gazettes, by private orders from the States, aggravated the damage, and gave reason to believe, that the expedition was deferred until spring: Care was taken that these papers should be sent into England. The great number of men found in the transport which had been taken heightened the importance of the Prince's army in the eyes of the English, when it was considered, that this transport was only one of five hundred. Upon the report, that the expedition was laid aside, those who had been irresolute before, now prepared to submit to the fate of the nation; and the resolute, who had declared more openly their sentiments, expected, in silent anguish, their own ruin.

Reports in
England.

THE Prince, however, set sail a second time, on the 1st of November, with a fair wind, and a brisk gale, amidst † the sounds of trumpets and artillery, the shouts and acclamations of the soldiers and mariners, and the prayers of his countrymen. He steered for above twelve hours to the northward, in order to create a belief, in the advice-packets which watched his fleet, that his intentions were to land in the North of England. This stratagem succeeded. James directed ‡ the march of part of his forces to the north. But, as soon as these packets disappeared to carry home intelligence of the course, and night came on, the Prince made a signal to tack about, and to put before the wind to the westward. On the second morning after he sailed, his fleet was discovered stretching towards

The Prince
sails a second
time.

Movements
of his fleet.

* Miffon. † Life of King William, vol. 3. p. 351.

‡ Ibid. p. 353.

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the Channel, with all the sail it could spread: His ships formed a line of twenty miles in extent: While the rear was in a manner close at hand, the van could scarcely be discerned. During seven hours, this huge body continued passing in the view of both shores, which were covered with innumerable spectators, who stood gazing, with admiration mixed with terror, upon a spectacle at once so pleasing and dreadful; and who loaded it with prayers or imprecations, according to the different religions, or interests, or passions, of the nations before whom it passed. When the fleet approached the coast of England, the Prince changed his ship, and failed at the head of all, to be the foremost in danger, displaying his own standard, in order to make himself more conspicuous, and to animate others by his example. About mid-day, he lay by in the straits of Calais and Dover, until the whole fleet should come up; partly, in order to make his armament appear the greater in so narrow a sea, and, by that means, to conquer first the imagination of those whom he was invading; and partly to call a council of war, upon intelligence which had been received, that there was danger from the English fleet which lay behind him at the Gunfleet. Here it was resolved to change the disposition of the fleet; and that the Prince with the transports, and three ships of war to guard him, should sail down the Channel in the van, while all the other ships of war should remain in the rear, to engage the English, in case they came out. The whole fleet being accordingly drawn up into one body, of about sixteen ships deep, which stretched from coast to coast, and within a league of each, the evolution was made in the middle of the straits*. While it was performing, the trumpets and other warlike instruments again sounded, the vessels saluted, and all the honours and pomp of war were exhibited in the sight of the people, who were assembled on the coasts of both kingdoms. But the same strong east wind, which carried the Prince triumphantly through the Channel, prevented the English fleet from coming out: For the ships rode at their station†, with their yards and topmasts down, unable to purchase their anchors, and saw part of the Dutch fleet pass within their sight. Circumstances fortunate for the fleet of England. For Dartmouth had

* Rapin. Life of K. William, vol. 3. p. 352.

† Burchet, p. 18.

been loaded with riches and honours by his master: He had been gained by little attentions, which are often more engaging than those of greater importance: An instance of this happened at Coventry*. For the citizens having presented the King with a gold cup, whilst he passed through their city, he handed it to Dartmouth with this compliment: "There is an acknowledgment from the city of Coventry, for the sufferings of your father in the cause of my father in this town." And therefore, though Dartmouth knew that some of his captains had engaged not to fight against the Prince of Orange, and that others were irresolute what to do, he had resolved † to render the contrast conspicuous between their behaviour and his own ‡.

THE fleet was intended for Torbay, on account of the capaciousness of the landing place. But the Prince's pilot misreckoned, and not only overshot it, but also the port of Dartmouth. The next port was Plymouth: But the Prince was not certain of reception there; and, if he tacked to make Torbay, there was reason to be apprehensive, lest Lord Dartmouth, who, by the change of the wind, was now under sail, might, in the interval, come up with the fleet of England. While the minds of those on board were in this cruel state of perplexity, the wind changed in a moment to the south, carried the Prince in four hours into Torbay, and forced Lord Dartmouth back to his station. Even the firmest minds, in great situations, are apt to regard omens: The Prince was anxious to land on the 4th of November, because it was the day of his birth, and of his marriage. But the English rejoiced, that the landing could not be made effectual until the day after, which being the anniversary

The Prince
lands.

* Collins, v. 4. p. 311.

† Burchet.

‡ Lord Dartmouth's error lay in not anchoring somewhat east of the Galloper, as he had promised to King James he would do, in order to be able to stretch which way he pleased. He afterwards changed his mind, and anchored a-breast of the Long Sands. The scouts, who were a league and a half from him to the eastward, took one of the Dutch transports. This gave occasion for some of James's officers to say, that Dartmouth might have done the same thing to the rest of the Dutch fleet, and that he betrayed the fleet under his command; but the accusation was unjust. It was impossible for him to move.

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He stops at
Exeter.
Unpromising
appearances
at first.

of the gunpowder treason, they imagined, would prove a lucky day to a protestant cause. As soon as the landing was made good, the whole fleet and army joined in expressing their gratitude by prayers to that providence which they believed had interposed in their favour*.

THE Prince marched his army from Torbay to Exeter, and, for the greater expedition, sent his baggage round by sea to meet him there. But the terrors of Jeffreys's executions still remaining in the western parts of England, few joined him in his march. Sir William Courtney, the friend of the unfortunate Lord Russell, in whose house the Prince lodged, because he counted upon him, gave no countenance to his enterprize, either in his own name, or by his tenants. The city of Exeter scrupled to receive the Prince. Lamplugh, the bishop, fled to the King, for which he was instantly named to the vacant archbishoprick of York. His clergy refused to attend a sermon preached in the cathedral by Burnet. Even the dissenters refused the keys of their meeting-house to Ferguson. But Ferguson said, laughing, "I will take the kingdom of heaven by violence," and, calling for a hammer, broke open the door with his own hand. The Prince's friends looked upon each other, waiting to see who should act first, covering their own fears under complaints of those of others, and trembling at the consciousness of the engagements they had taken. But the Prince, who knew, that many of his English friends had high honours and great fortunes to risk, which might damp their spirits at the time he most needed their assistance, who besides was all his life suspicious of the political levity of the English, and who knew he could not conquer eight millions of people with 15,000, and that his only argument for coming to England was the invitation of the people themselves, stopped at Exeter, and fixed his residence there, to wait the effects which the promises of his friends should produce, and privately resolved to return, if they produced none. He con-

* Carstairs was the person who suggested this to the Prince. It had a wonderful effect upon the army. This was the foundation of the future favour of Carstairs.

tinued there near a week, with no better prospect than when he arrived. It is reported, that once, peevish with disappointment, he betrayed in public an intention to depart immediately, and leave the people of England and their King to settle their differences at their leisure among themselves *.

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GREAT passions and great perils often throw a kind of stupor over the minds of men, which robs them of their wonted powers: But, when a few recover themselves, all recover with them. Major Barington, who had been in the army, was the first man of fashion who joined the Prince: The gentlemen of Devonshire and Somersetshire followed. With these came Sir Edward Seymour, one of the most eminent of the tories. His arrival gave the Prince an opportunity of perceiving the high spirit of the English: Having said to Seymour, "I believe, Sir Edward, you are of the Duke of Somerset's family." "No, Sir," answered he, "The Duke is of mine." Lord Abingdon, another of the same party, Mr. Ruffel, brother to the late Lord, Mr. Wharton, and many others of rank from different parts of England, hastened to wait upon the Prince. When these things were reported, his other friends animated each other; complained of the old government; flattered themselves with hopes in innovations; and every man mistaking his neighbour's courage for his own, all rushed to the camp, or to the stations which had been assigned them, with a violence proportioned to their late fears. Some of those, who had at first scrupled to sign the association with the Earl of Devonshire, now offering to sign it, the Earl told them, "There was *now* no need of their aid †." In order to prevent those who professed their adherence from retracting or temporising, or, as Sir Edward Seymour expressed it, "To keep the party from becoming a rope of sand," Sir Edward drew up an association for defence of the Prince, and the cause he was engaged in, which was signed by all, even by many who refused afterwards to take the oaths to the Prince of Orange, when seated upon the throne ‡. Yet, amidst the satisfaction which the Prince received from this new appearance of things, there appeared the remains of his for-

Numbers at length join him.

* Burnet. † Collins's peerage, vol. i. p. 174. ‡ Clarendon's diary, Dec. 5. Gazette, Nov. 12.

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mer spleen. He observed with emphasis to the first considerable body of gentry who waited upon him, "That he had come upon *their* invitation, and expected them *sooner*."

Defection in
the King's
army.

BUT more material signs of disaffection to James soon appeared: The loyalty of the army began to give way: Lord Colchester, once friend to the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, was the first of James's officers who deserted: He brought off a few of his men. Lord Cornbury aimed a more important blow: He pretended an order from the King, to beat up the enemies quarters near Dorchester, and carried with him his own regiment of dragoons, and two of horse, towards the Prince, whom he advertised of his approach. The Prince made a body of his forces advance twenty miles, either to receive or intercept them, according as they should join or resist. A march of thirty-eight miles in one day, made by Lord Cornbury, with unusual haste, gave suspicion to some of his officers: They insisted for an explanation: He had not resolution either to avow, or to deny the intention. Most of the officers and soldiers returned, but some who favoured the cause of the Prince, or loved their leader, or were fond of innovations, proceeded, and made the junction good.

Petition of
peers for a
parliament.

IN the mean time, James was involved in a perplexity at London, as much by the anxiety of his friends, as by the designs of his enemies: A petition was presented to him by the two archbishops, and two bishops, in the name of nineteen peers and prelates, to call a free parliament. This petition was signed indiscriminately by some of both parties; by the one side in hopes he would comply, and save his crown at the expence of some of its prerogatives; and by the other, in the belief, that he either would not, or that he could not, without distracting his party, losing the personal attendance of his friends, and manifesting his fear. Lord Hallifax, and Lord Nottingham had suggested the measure: Yet, when they saw the names of Lord Rochester, and of the Bishop of Rochester, at the petition, they refused to join in any measure with any person who had sitten in the ecclesiastical commission. A refusal which

seemed to shew attention to the King, to whom the calling of a parliament was not agreeable; yet discovered their intention, if the opportunity offered, to raise themselves on the ruins of those who had concurred, or even seemed to concur, with the late measures. James gave the following answer to the petition: "My Lords, what you ask of me, I most passionately desire; and I promise you, *upon the faith of a King*, that I will have a parliament, and such an one as you ask for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this realm: For how is it possible that a parliament can be free in all its circumstances, as you petition for, whilst an enemy is in this kingdom, and can make a return of near an hundred voices?" The petition and answer were both published, and afforded a new subject of contention to the minds of men, already sufficiently heated. For, while some called the formality of a petition ungenerous to a Prince in distress, others imputed the refusal to a sense of guilt, and fear of parliaments, or to obstinacy. All remarked, that there must be some misunderstanding between the King and his own friends, when part of them had joined in asking what he had refused.

JAMES discovered still one other sign of spirit: He joined his army, consisting of 24,000 men, while it lay at Salisbury, resolved to die King of England, if he could not defend his crown. "The fight of their Sovereign," he said, "and the common ties of honour, would prevent his troops from betraying the cause of their Prince, and their General, when he sought protection from them, and shared dangers with them." But, in order to add the impulses of shame to those of duty and honour, before he set out, he called together the officers who were in London, and made the following speech to them: "According to the Lords petition, I have engaged my royal word to call a free parliament, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted the kingdom; and I am resolved to do all that lies in my power to quiet the minds of my people, by securing their religion, laws, and liberties. If you desire any thing more, I am ready to grant it. But if, after all this, any of you is not satisfied, let him declare himself. I am willing to

James joins
his army.
His speech to
his officers.

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“ grant passés to all such as have a mind to go over to the Prince of Orange, and spare them the shame of deserting their lawful Sovereign.” Among these officers were Lord Churchill, the Duke of Grafton, and the Colonels Kirk and Trelany.

His intention
to send off the
Prince of
Wales disap-
pointed.

BUT, while James was preparing to expose his own life, he resolved to take care of that of his infant son. The night before he left London, he sent him privately to Portsmouth, together with a letter written with his own hand, to Lord Dartmouth, with orders to carry the Prince into France. Dartmouth answered, he would obey; and was preparing to do so, when he was warned by one of his friends, that, if he carried the heir to the crown out of the kingdom, upon a simple letter from the King, without an official warrant, he might be exposed to the pains of high treason. Upon this, he wrote to James, making an apology for the delay in the execution of his orders, and desiring such a warrant to be sent him as might justify his obedience. But James, finding his ministers demur, and other situations casting up, the Prince was brought back to a palace in which it was doomed he should never reign.

Different
councils gi-
ven to James
in the camp.

THE same evening that James joined his army at Salisbury, a number of the officers waited on Lord Feversham the General, and told him, that they could not in conscience fight against the Prince of Orange; and Lord Feversham informed him, that, though the private men were steady, the officers in general could not be depended upon. It is reported, that he proposed to James to dismiss all the suspected officers, and to place the most trusty serjeants in their stead. Lord Dumbarton, a son of the house of Douglas, asked leave to attack the Prince with his Scottish royal regiment, consisting at that time of 5000 men, of which 3000 were with the regiment; assuring the King, that, though he could not hope to defeat the Prince, he would give him a shock which the King might take advantage of: But James refused, saying, “ He would not throw away the lives of so many brave men, upon an action which could not be decisive. Lord Dundee, with a generous

confidence, advised him either to fight the Prince, or go to him in person, and demand his business in England *. But, of all those who pressed James to a battle, the foremost was Lord Churchill, in order to wipe off the suspicions which had been suggested against him. The Duke of Grafton gave the same advice. Next day these two persons, with the Colonels Kirk and Trelany, and several other officers of rank, went over to the Prince. Lord Churchill left a letter for James, respectful, yet alarming: For, though he promised warmly to preserve his duty to the rights of the King; yet, by saying that he could not expect so great favours, "under any other government," as he had received from him, he seemed to express a knowledge, that another government than the King's was in prospect.

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JAMES continued at Salisbury six days: In this interval, he was distracted almost every hour with the news of misfortunes following one upon another: He heard, that in the west Lord Delamere had raised the people of Cheshire: That, in the middle of England, Lord Devonshire, in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, had acted the same part: That in the North, Lord Danby, who had obtained a commission to raise forces for his service, had seized York, and gained over its garrison: That in the south, Lord Bath had brought the garrison of Plymouth to declare for the Prince; and that the whole gentry of Dorsetshire had espoused the same side: And that Captain Churchill, brother to Lord Churchill, had joined the Dutch fleet with his ship. He was the first sea-officer who deserted. The declaration of Nottinghamshire contained the following severe words to a royal ear: "That they did indeed own it to be rebellion, to resist a King governing by law, but not to resist a tyrant who made his will the law." Hurt in friendship, and in the relations of nature, shocked with ingratitude, knowing not whom to trust, suspecting now one and now another, and most with good reason, and dreading to be delivered up by those troops whom he had assembled to defend him, James retreated with part of his army to London. Upon hearing that the Prince was advancing

Insurrections.

* Granger Biog. hist. v. 2. p. 507.

† Duke of Buckingham's works.

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Defection
in the royal
family.

to Sherburne against him, he ordered the rest of the army to follow him. Most of the private men shed tears when they heard of his retreat.

THE night before he retired, Prince George of Denmark, and the young Duke of Ormond, whom James had a short time before honoured with the garter, supped with him; he, with a desponding mind, they with anxious thoughts from the defection they meditated. Next morning, he was waked with the information that they had gone over, together with Lord Drumlanrig, in the night, to the Prince of Orange. Prince George left a letter to James, expressed in terms which, in excusing himself, threw blame on the unhappy person to whom it was directed. Prince George had been accustomed, when he heard of the desertion of any of those who had been much obliged to the King, to say, "Est il possible?" The only remark which James made upon the Prince's flight was, "Is " Est il possible gone too?" But, when he learned, upon entering his capital, that the Princess Anne had the evening before, under pretence of avoiding his displeasure, fled from the palace with the Bishop of London, Lord Dorset, and Lady Churchill, he burst into tears, and in a transport of nature cried out, "God help me, my " own children have forsaken me!" The Princess went not to Dorsetshire to her husband, who was with the Prince of Orange, but to Northampton; either to avoid the appearance of joining the Prince of Orange against her father, or to give occasion for an insurrection, under the pretence of protection to her person. Instantly a small army of volunteers formed around her as a guard, which was commanded by the bishop of London, who, in his youth, had been a cornet of dragoons, and who now rode before her with a drawn sword in his hand, and pistols on his saddle.

Consternation in London.

A few days before James retired from Salisbury, there had been an engagement between two parties of the different armies at Wincanton, in which the King's party had been defeated. When the report of this defeat, exaggerated, as is common on such occasions, far above the reality, and that the King's army was retreating towards the capital, and the Prince's army pursuing it, arri-

ved in London, many of the great * hastened to burn their papers; some lest they should be punished for their connections with the Prince of Orange, and others lest they should be called to account for having had a share in the King's measures. All the people of condition who were in town flocked to the palace to learn news, filling † every gallery and antichamber. Consternation appeared in the countenances of all, increased by mutual mistrust, lest they should seem to rejoice or grieve too much in the news which were related. In vain did those about court endeavour to conceal their uneasiness under a false cheerfulness, and false intelligence: These very endeavours, by betraying their affectation, added to that consternation which they were intended to remove. The succession of companies made what was bad worse: For pressing forward, and not getting admittance, they read events in the contagious looks of each other, and then retired to scatter the objects of their own imagination through the capital. The citizens were instantly in an uproar; believing, that the fate of the kingdom was to be decided between the two armies within the walls of the city. The women from their sex, the artizans from their habits, in a city long unacquainted with arms, trembled at the thoughts of danger. The rest, accustomed to the idleness and delicacies of the metropolis, and by talking of war to form the more frightful ideas of it, were equally timid with the women and artizans. Even the friends of the Prince of Orange, though conscious of his virtue, felt uneasiness when they reflected, that there was an army of foreigners in the heart of the kingdom, and that it depended upon it and upon him how to treat them. Such a consternation, struck by the approach of 15,000 men, to a city inhabited by above half a million, pointed out to the observing, how weak wealth is against arms, and that the people who cannot defend themselves with their own hands, must for ever fall an easy prey to invasion from without, or to tyranny within.

* Clarendon's diary, Nov. 26. Lord Castlemain's trial. Duke of Buckingham, vol. 2. p. 76.

† Clarendon, Nov. 25.

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1688.

James assem-
bles peers.
Counsels
which they
give him.

As soon as James entered the city, he summoned an assembly of the peers to ask their advice, and to make an apology to them for not having called a parliament. In passing to this council, he met with a shock perhaps as severe as any he had felt: Meeting the father of the unfortunate Lord Russel, the old Earl of Bedford, who had offered L. 100,000 for his son's life, but which the King, when Duke of York, had prevailed with his brother to refuse; he said to the Earl, "My Lord, you are a good man; you have much interest with the peers; you can do me service with them to-day:" "I once had a son," answered the Earl, "who could have served your Majesty upon this occasion." James was struck motionless. Lord Clarendon gave his thoughts on the state of affairs, in a manner indecent to his sovereign, ungenerous to one in distress, inhuman to a relation. The nobles were affected with the sight of Majesty in its fall, discovered their disapprobation of Clarendon in their looks and murmurs, and treated James with the respect due to one who was still their Sovereign. The advices they gave him were, "To issue a pardon to the Prince's adherents, to remove papists from offices, to assemble a parliament, and to send a deputation for a treaty to the Prince." Advices from this assembly to one in the situation of James, were equal to commands: He readily complied. There is a meanness in granting to force, what has been refused to wisdom and justice, which robs the unhappy even of pity. The spectators thought, at this conference, that the King was altered, and that the powers of his mind had forsaken him: They asked, "Where were the looks, and where the spirit, which had made three kingdoms to tremble?" They perceived not that the change was not in the King, but in themselves.

Tranquillity
restored.

As soon as it was known that James was to call a parliament, and to enter into a treaty with the Prince, the city resumed her ordinary tranquillity; and multitudes of all parties flocked * from London to pay their compliments to the Prince, as in time of a profound peace. The fleet which had hitherto been detained by cross winds, but was now preparing to attack the Dutch fleet, hearing this state of things, fixed its station at Spithead, where all

* Clarendon's diary.

the admirals and captains wrote a joint letter of thanks to the King for calling a parliament; an event which put an end to all the anxieties of the Prince of Orange and of the Dutch.

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THE Lords Nottingham, Hallifax, and Godolphin, were the deputies appointed by James to wait upon the Prince of Orange. The Prince, by framing delays in the passports, and then appointing the deputies to stop on the road till he came up, avoided for ten days a personal interview with them; and, in the mean time, increased his party, refreshed and strengthened his army, and advanced forward with a slow pace, that the minds of men might be awed even by the prolongation of his march, and the pain of expectation. He received the visits of the great with every attention they could desire. As he marched along, he bowed to the populace with his hat off, and called to them, "That he came to rescue their religion and liberty." Yet all the while he kept men in a state of uncertainty as to his designs: For, while many of an inferior rank, who were believed to know his sentiments, gave out, that he intended to assume the crown, he himself, and Bentinck his favourite, repeatedly averred, that he had no such intention *.

Prince's behaviour in his march.

THE deputies, having got admittance at last at Hungerford, delivered the Prince a letter of credentials from the King, and proposed that terms should be adjusted for the freedom of elections and of the sitting of parliament, and that both armies should be removed to a proper distance from London. James's letter, being merely official, had been written in French, the language commonly used to foreign Princes, and not with his own hand. The Prince, on reading it, said with an air of concern †, "It was the first letter he had ever received from the King in a foreign language, or written by the hand of another." A reference to the tender relation in which he stood to James, which he made either from sensibility, or from a design to preserve the ambiguity of his intentions. The Prince desired the commissioners to put their proposals into writing. After which, in order to mark that the measures to be taken, were those of the English themselves, and not his

Treaty.

* Clarendon's diary.

† Ibid.

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own, he desired all the English nobility and gentry who were with him to assemble and prepare an answer to the proposals of the commissioners: And then, under pretence of other business, but in reality to avoid the imputation of directing their resolutions, he retired to the country. In the answer framed by this assembly, one article insisted upon was, that the writs for assembling a new parliament should be superseded; an article carried through by many of those who had come over with the Prince, or were obliged to attend him; and who, foreseeing that they could not attend their elections, and consequently that they could not expect to be returned in the present state of things, dreaded the loss of their own importance in the assembling of a new parliament. When the answer was carried to the Prince, he struck out this article, and desired the assembly to reconsider it. They returned the answer with the article replaced: The Prince struck it out a second time. They desired him to hear the point debated before him: He consented; but adhered to his first opinion. A conduct, wise, generous, firm. Yet one uncautious expression dropped from him. In the heat of the altercation, he said to Sir Harry Capel, "By your favour, Sir Harry, we may drive away the King; but, perhaps, we may not know so easily how to come by a parliament." He made another alteration upon the answer. It had been made to run in his name; but he ordered it to run in the names of those who had framed it, together with his own*.

THIS answer contained the following, among other demands: "That papists should be disarmed, and removed from employments, the tower of London and Tilbury fort put into the hands of the city, and Portsmouth into those of persons chosen by both Princes; that no more foreign forces should be brought into the kingdom; that a revenue should be assigned for the maintenance of the Prince's army; and that, if the King chose to reside at London during the sitting of parliament, the Prince might reside there likewise, attended with an equal number of guards." James perceived, that these conditions stripped him of the friends

* Clarendon's diary.

whom he most trusted, prevented him from receiving foreign aid, disabled him from future defence, by taking from him the possession of the almost only forts he had left, made provision for the continuance of a foreign force in his kingdom, and introduced an equal to cope with him in his capital: They therefore gave him but a melancholy view of his present and future condition. Yet, when he first heard of them, he affected to be satisfied; and the consciousness, that this affectation was become necessary, added to his uneasiness.

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At this time an accident happened, that could happen only in times of great confusion, and which filled him with fears. There was one Speke in the Prince's army, a man of a bustling, daring spirit, irritated by revenge for the death of a brother, who had been condemned by Jeffreys for Monmouth's rebellion. This man counterfeited and published a declaration * in the Prince's name: The declaration ordered military execution against all papists in arms or in office, or who should assist or obey them; which exposed to the sword a great part of James's servants: And it was full of the grossest indecencies to the Kings of France, and of England. Such a declaration, published in the middle of a treaty, persuaded James, who was ignorant of the imposture, that the Prince was resolved to observe ceremony no longer, filled all around him with terror for their own lives, and made his enemies imitate, in their speeches and actions, that boldness which their credulity imputed to the Prince. Amongst the foremost to fly was Lord Sunderland, who had been lately removed from his offices, pretending danger from the Prince, but in reality in fear of it from the King.

False manifesto published in the Prince's army.

At the same time, James received repeated intelligence, from all quarters of the kingdom, of the defections of those whom he had accounted his friends, and of the successes of those whom he knew to be his enemies. He heard that the Duke of Norfolk, exercising the power of Lord Lieutenant which had been committed to him for the royal service, had summoned the freeholders of Norfolk to the town of Norwich, in favour of the Prince; that Lord Shrews-

Continuance of insurrections in the counties.

* Speke's account.

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bury had taken possession of the city of Bristol; and that the gentlemen of Herefordshire had declared for the Prince. He heard that, even in the seat of loyalty at Oxford, the Duke of Ormond had read the Prince's declaration to the university, which had received it with universal applause, and offered its plate in a solemn deputation to the Prince: That, in the north, where his interest had hitherto kept some ground, all was lost; for that Hull, one of the keys of the kingdom, was seized by Copely its deputy-governor, and Newcastle and Berwick had submitted: That defection had seized even Scotland, where he thought himself absolute; for that the covenanters and presbyterians, countenanced by the Marquis of Athole, president of the council, the second person of the kingdom in office, and who wished to be the first, and instigated by Sir John Dalrymple and Lord Tarbet, two of the privy-council, had frightened Lord Chancellor Perth from Edinburgh, had destroyed the popish chapel in the royal palace, and the seminary of the Jesuits; and that the privy-council had disbanded the militia, and addressed the Prince in terms less flattering, and therefore probably more sincere than those which they had used to himself*: Finally, news arrived, that his forces had retreated from Reading, and then from Maidenhead, upon the approach of the Prince; that a battalion of Douglas's Scotch regiment, influenced by General Douglas, had declared for his enemies; and that the Prince and his army had advanced to Maidenhead, and were still marching forward.

Different advices he gets in the court.

WHILE James was thus distracted with a succession of misfortunes, all the precincts of the palace, and the circumjacent streets, were crowded with the populace; some expressing their sentiments by sighs and tears for the King, others by clamours against him, all venting execrations on his priests: He, in the mean time, continued locked up in the palace, stripped of the powers of his mind, by the noise of tumult, by the reports which were continually brought him, and still more by the intervals of anxiety between the arrival of one messenger and that of another. All pressed upon him with their advices, according to their differ-

* Lord Balcarras.

ent affections and interests, the foldiers to fight, the priests to fly, because they were all flying themselves, the peers and others of property to persist in treating with the Prince: Of those who advised him against war, some begged him to spare himself; others, with less ceremony, to spare his people; and many, without proffering any thing of their own, were employed in objecting to the counsels which had been given by others, because they had not been suggested by themselves.

In this situation, Barillon the French ambassador, who saw that, if the parliament was allowed to settle the nation, there would be no pretence for France to meddle any longer in the troubles of England; and who knew of what consequence it was to his master, that a Prince, who had pretensions to the British crowns, should take refuge in France, urged James to retire into that kingdom, with the prospect of returning speedily, supported by greater succours than those he had refused. The Roman catholics*, who knew that they must fall the first victims to a pacification, but that they could not fail to meet with respect and pity among foreign nations, while they attended the person of a King suffering for religion, and whose sufferings they shared, advised him to the same measure. The argument they made use of was, That, as his departure would throw loose all the dependencies of government, it would reduce all things to a state of nature, and render the re-establishment of the nation impracticable: An argument which weighed much with James, who did not reflect, that convulsions had proved the sources of liberty to the English, ever since the invasion of the Saxons.

THE Queen who, according to the custom of women, was as much sunk by adversity, as she had been elated by prosperity, and who had been reminded of the impeachment of the King's mother, and of the intention to impeach his brother's consort, adjured him, by the tender names of husband and father, to take care of his life, her infant's, and her own, and to fly from a land fatal to

* Duke of Buckingham, vol. 2. p. 76.

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his house, and to royalty. Honour and pride alone opposed in the mind of James. In the end, he was prevailed upon to consent to the departure of the Queen with the Prince, and to promise that he would speedily follow her: But his avoiding to go with her, discovered that this promise was given only in order to alleviate the anxieties of a separation.

The Queen
flies with the
Prince of
Wales.

ON the sixth of December, in the evening, the Queen, with the nurse carrying the Prince, then five months old, in her arms, and accompanied by the Count of Lauſune, ſo famous for his own misfortunes, and by a few attendants, went privately from Whitehall: She croſſed the Thames, in an open boat, in a dark night, in a heavy rain, in a high wind, whiſt the river was ſwollen, and at the coldeſt ſeaſon of the year. A common coach had been ordered to wait for her upon the oppoſite ſide; but, by ſome accident, it had been delayed for an hour. During this time, ſhe took ſhelter under the walls of an old church at Lambeth; turning her eyes, ſtreaming with tears, ſometimes on the Prince, unconſcious of the miſeries which attend upon royalty, and who, upon that account, raiſed the greater compaſſion in her breaſt, and ſometimes to the innumerable lights of the city, amidſt the glimmerings of which, ſhe in vain explored the palace in which her huſband was left, and ſtarted at every ſound ſhe heard from thence. The coach carried her to Gravesend, where a veſſel was ready, and landed her at Calais.

Terrors of
James.

WHEN the Queen and the Prince were gone, the ſolitude of the palace conveyed ideas of horror to the King. In every perſon he met, he ſuſpected an enemy or a betrayer; and from every look he gathered reaſons for confirming the ſuſpicions he had formed. Diſtance, or approach, were equally uneaſy to him; for he imputed the one to conſciouſneſs of guilt, and the other to a deſire of concealing it. A diſpatch which he received privately from Lord Hallifax compleated his panic: For Hallifax, in order to make amends for his original want of merit when the Prince's expedition had been propoſed to him, now invented a fiction to impell James to leave the kingdom: He gave him intelligence, that his perſon was in

danger from the Prince, and that he had only a short time to save it *. James, upon this, prepared himself for flight. But, suitable to the state he was in, and to the step he was to take, his conversation was contradictory and ambiguous: He often repeated a saying of his father, "That small was the distance between the prisons of Princes and their graves †." To some he gave out, that he was to fight the Prince, and ordered the guards to be got ready. In the hearing of others, he ordered a council to be called next day. To Lord Mulgrave, who attended him as chamberlain, he said in the evening, that his commissioners had sent him good accounts of an accommodation with the Prince: Mulgrave saw through the affectation, shook his head, bowed, and dejectedly retired. He gave the diary, which, from his earliest youth, he had been accustomed to keep, to the ambassador of Savoy, to be sent to Marfeilles. He gave secret warning to Father Petre, and Lord Mellfort, to avoid a danger which he knew their unpopularity would bring upon them: But he left Jeffreys to his fate; thinking it just that he should share those miseries of which he had in part been the instrument.

ON the 11th of December, at three o'clock in the morning, attended by Sir Edward Hales, and two servants, James withdrew by a private passage from Whitehall, and passed the river in a barge rowed by two watermen, after giving orders to the Duke of Northumberland, who was the Lord in waiting, not to mention, until the morning, what he had seen. Some time before, he had destroyed the writs for a new parliament, and now threw the great seal into the river. The seal was afterwards found by a fisherman, and brought to London; Heaven seeming by this accident to declare, that the laws, the constitution, and the sovereignty of Britain were not to depend upon the frailty of man. His flight being unknown to all, the rooms of the palace were filled in the morning, as usual, with company, to attend his levee. But, when the doors of his chamber were thrown open, and, instead of the King, the company saw Northumberland come out alone, who informed them of his flight, and then, after this last piece of duty to his master and his uncle, went to the head of his troop of guards, and declared for the Prince

The King's flight.

* Sir John Reresby.

† M S. memoirs of the late Lord Balcarras.

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of Orange, astonishment and confusion seized the court, the city, the camp, and the country. Lord Feverham increased the consternation: For James having left him a letter, in which he said, "He did not expect the troops to expose themselves at present," Feverham disbanded the army; many of the soldiers weeping, and others trembling with anger, whilst they heard the order read.

State of the
city.

As soon as the King's flight was known in the city, the populace rose, destroyed the popish chapels, committed outrages on the priests, and rifled the houses of several popish ambassadors; some actuated by zeal, others by the love of plunder, and many by mere wantonness. Jeffreys they seized in a seaman's habit at Wapping, endeavouring to find a ship for his escape. Treating him with that want of mercy which he had shewn to others, they carried him in his blue jacket, and with his hat flapped down upon his face, before the Lord Mayor, who, as soon as the hat was lifted up, and he beheld that countenance which was in use to strike terror wherever it appeared, fell into a faint with the shock of the surprise, and died next day. Jeffreys, having been with difficulty rescued from the violence of those who surrounded him, was committed to the tower, more for protection than for punishment; where he died of a disease contracted by terror, and the hurts he had received in the tumult.

FREED from the restraints of government, and secure of impunity, it was feared the populace would have proceeded to greater excesses in a city containing above half a million of inhabitants, abounding in wealth, and unaccustomed to arms: But here they stopt, not from modesty and virtue, incapable as they are, at all times of either, but from a habit of reverence for laws, which they knew not why they revered. All men however believed, that this moment of cessation from disorder would soon be interrupted by them or by others: And, in a situation where the King was fled, no parliament called, no authority of any kind in right to act, a foreign force in the kingdom, a people divided by factions, which many of the great were interested to increase, an army disbanded without pay or provisions, and a populace in arms and in clamour,

those of wise and sober minds, expected evils to themselves and to the nation, imminent and perhaps lasting.

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IN order to increase these alarms, and to draw the attention of the nation to the Prince of Orange, who alone seemed to have the power of repressing disorder, the same Speke, who had counterfeited a declaration by the Prince *, now invented a piece of news, that the Irish part of the disbanded army had begun a massacre of the protestants. In times of terror, reports that are terrible easily find credit: None inquired into the truth of the massacre: All supposed it to be true: The panic spread like lightning from one end of England to the other. In the city, the report was said to have been brought from the country; in the country, it was said to have come from the city: Some added circumstances to what they had heard, and when these were related back to themselves, or when they had often told them, they believed them to be true. The militia-drums gave the alarm where it had not been already received; and the ringing of bells and burning of beacons confirmed it, where it had. During some days, all men stood to their arms, set watch in the night, and hung out lights, to descry the approach of the murderers. In London the shops were shut, and the doors of most houses barricadoed. In the parts of the country where villages were near to each other, people imagined they heard at a distance the cries of the dying, and the lamentations for the dead. Where the situations were more distant, they expected in horror their own fates.

Universal
panic of an
Irish massa-
cre.

IN this state of disorder both in affairs and in the spirits of men, about thirty of the bishops and peers, who happened to be in London, assumed the reins of government. They at first carried along with them the magistracy of London: But men taken from counters and warehouses were found incapable even to concur with, much less to contrive or resolve upon, the great measures of state; and therefore their assistance was soon neglected to be asked. The peers formed themselves into a regular council, fixed a council-

Council of
peers.

* Speke's account.

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room, appointed their clerks, and times of meeting, chose a speaker Lord Hallifax, and exercised all powers of prerogative. To the magistrates of London, their late associates in government, they gave commands, as to their servants, to raise the militia. They issued orders to the fleet, to the King's disbanded army, and to all the considerable garrisons in England: They removed Skelton, whom James had appointed governor of the tower, and put Lord Lucas in his place, because, every gun that was fired, struck the citizens with a frenzy of terror, that Skelton was battering the city to pieces: And they published a declaration, in which they censured the King for his flight, and resolved to apply to the Prince for protection from the dangers of popery and slavery. Their orders were every where obeyed: From the highest appearances of disorder, all things in a few days subsided into composure, and subordination.

Addressees to
the Prince.

THE Prince received intelligence of these things on his march to London, and still marched on, without hurrying his army, or the appearance of being affected by what he heard, as if desirous to shew, that he was invited to government, and did not hasten to seize it. One of each order of the peerage delivered to him, at Henley, the declaration of the peers: The first who had signed it was the archbishop of Canterbury. The magistracy and lieutenancy of London even presented him with an address, in which they thanked him for their deliverance, begged his protection, and invited him to London. The principal officers of the army met at Whitehall, and sent him an assurance, that they would give their aid in preserving the peace of the city, till he himself should undertake it. The Prince issued a declaration, which commanded the officers to assemble the regiments in proper places, and preserve them in discipline and quietness. He was instantly obeyed, as if he had been already King of England, and the nation in peace.

James seized
at Fever-
ham.

AFTER the peers, the city, and the army, had discovered these marks of submission, news arrived which, it was feared, would have thrown all things again into confusion. The suddenness with which James had taken his resolution to fly, had prevented proper

preparations from being made for his flight: A small bark had indeed been hired at Feverham, to carry him to an advice-vessel, which always lay ready off Margate: But the bark had not her ballast on board: While the ballast was getting ready, the King had by accident been discovered by some fishermen, who were lying in wait to seize the priests in their flight, or, as the cant of the time expressed it, "were a priest coddling." The council was sitting when the news came to London. A countryman came to the door with a letter from the King: All knew the messenger was there, yet no one would own that he did; some dreading that the Prince might take their interposition amiss; and others, uncertain of his character, lest, from generosity or policy, he might punish ungenerous inattentions. The man could not get admittance. Hallifax was hastening to break up the council: But the Earl of Mulgrave, with an honest indignation, insisted that they should sit still, and introduced the messenger, who, with tears, delivered his letter. It was without superscription, and only ordered to be delivered to any who would bring assistance. It was to this purpose: "The King acquaints the reader, that he has been discovered in his retreat, by some fishermen of Kent, and secured at first there by the gentry, who were yet forced afterwards to resign him into the hands of an insolent rabble." Shame made the council shew that respect, which pity could not draw from them. They ordered Lord Feverham, with 200 of the King's life-guards and his coaches to attend him, and to leave it to himself either to retire abroad, or return as he pleased. He chose to return to London, either from the fear of being again stopped by the rabble, who were all in alarm on the coast, or from the lingering love of a country in which he had reigned, and the hopes of an accommodation. In the mean time he dispatched Lord Feverham to the Prince, with a letter, in which he invited him to St. James's.

As it is natural for the human mind to forget past injuries, upon Dec. 16. the sight of present misfortunes, and in violent passions to run from one extreme to another *, the populace attended his entry into London with universal expressions of joy for his return:

* Duke of Buckingham, 88. Hist. defer. p. 92.

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The women standing still, prayed for him, and wept, as he passed; the men followed his coach with shouts, till it stopped at Whitehall. But the pleasure he received from this first welcome was short-lived: When he summoned a council the night of his arrival, only a few counsellors attended * it. The same solitude appeared in his court; the ungenerous avoiding him, lest they should share in his misfortunes, and the generous, to conceal their own depression, or lest they should appear to observe his. The city did not send him a deputation as usual with felicitations for his return. The populace retired to their houses as soon as it grew dark. Every thing reminded him, that he was all alone in the midst of a great people. Yet something remained of the King: He complained, that the council had presumed to exert acts of government, although himself had given it up.

Behaviour
of the
Prince upon
this news.

IN the mean time, one of those gentlemen who had assisted in detaining James, had posted to the Prince at Windsor, to inform him of what had happened. Being off his guard with the surprise, the Prince expressed his displeasure with the officiousness of those who had prevented the King from going off, and sent him a letter by Zulestein, not to come nearer London than Rochester; but which James did not receive until he was at London. The Prince also arrested Lord Feverham, as soon as he arrived with the King's letter, under pretence that he had come without a passport, but in reality either because the Prince was † irritated by his having disbanded the army, or in order to mark to James that he was to waive all ceremony for the future. But afterwards he put on a more guarded behaviour, resolving, that severities to the King should proceed from his own subjects, and not from his son-in-law. With this view he called a general council at Sion-house, of all of rank among the English who were with him, laid James's letters before them, and asked their advice; being confident, that men who had gone so great lengths in affronting the authority of their Prince, would not chuse to reinstate him. It was agreed at this council, that the King should not be ‡

* Books of privy council, December 16.

† Clarendon, December.

‡ Ibid. December 17.

permitted to reside in any of the royal palaces, but should be desired to remove to Ham, a house belonging to the Dutchess of Lauderdale, and that the Prince should not enter into treaty with one, who, by deserting his government, had thrown the whole machine of the constitution loose. Lord Clarendon, who, as often happens in differences between persons nearly connected, had only wished to humble, not to ruin the King, insisted that he should have leave to go to one of his country-palaces; but was over-ruled by Hallifax. After the resolution was framed, Hallifax proposed it should be carried to the King by one of the Prince's officers, and mentioned Count Solmes. "By your favour," said the Prince, "the resolution is your own, and one of yourselves shall deliver it;" and then, before an answer could be given, he named the Lords Delamere and Shrewsbury, with Hallifax himself. The two former, who were in arms against James, readily assented: And Hallifax, being reduced to the awkward distress of either disobliging the Prince, or, though he was the King's commissioner, of desiring the King to go out of his own palace, chose the latter: A circumstance which, creating much laughter in some, and even in the Prince against Hallifax, raised in others pity for the King. Whilst these things were in agitation, some counselled more violent measures: But Princes are capable of sympathy with those of their own rank: The Prince of Orange discouraged the suggestion, and despised its authors.

As soon as the Prince received this resolution of his English council for his warrant, distrusting the returns of compassion, and that political inconstancy which all foreigners are apt to impute to the British nations, he, the same day, sent part of his army to London, lest the city should be frightened with the sight of the whole; and ordered the Dutch guards to take possession of all the posts about St. James's and Whitehall, continuing himself with the rest of his army at Sion, until he should hear the effects of the orders he had given. The Dutch troops coming to Kensington and Chelsea, as the sun went down, made a halt for some hours to refresh themselves, and then prepared to march on. The halt gave time for reports to spread in the city: The darkness kept the

The Dutch
enter London
in the night.

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citizens in ignorance, that it was only a detachment which approached: And hence a panic struck the city, when it was believed, that an entire army of foreigners was to enter it at midnight. Count Solmes, hearing of the tumult, rode himself to London, and informed Lord Craven, who commanded the guards, of the true state of things, and of the orders with which he was charged; but arrived late, by the delays he had met with from the multitudes in his way. Tenderness of mind and courage go continually together. Craven was one of the very few of the great, who never quitted London during the plague, having made himself at that time the constant associate of the great Duke of Albemarle in relieving the miseries of human kind; and he now, though 70 years of age, refused to give way, drew up his men, and prepared to die at their head. The Dutch, in the mean time, hearing that they were to meet with opposition, marched through the park at eleven o'clock at night, with drums beating, match lighted, and in order of battle. While the minds of all were intent upon the event, James, who was informed of the danger, sent orders for Craven to retire. The foldiers, when they first heard the order, murmured each to his neighbour, and then all aloud; and, when the order was repeated, often looking back, they slowly and indignantly retired.

The Prince's
message to
James to
quit White-
hall.

AT one o'clock of the morning, and not sooner, the Prince's commissioners, who had either been detained by the tumults in their approach to the town, or had created delays for themselves, arrived with their message from the Prince, for James to remove from his palace to Ham: This message was the more mortifying, because it was delivered by his own subjects, one of whom had been his minister, and was now his commissioner; and because he was desired to set out early in the morning, lest he should meet the Prince and his army on the road, who were to be in London the next afternoon. James was asleep when they arrived, and received the message in bed. He answered, he would comply; but called the commissioners back when they were at the door, and told them, it would be more agreeable to him to make his residence at Rochester: A suggestion which occurred to him, partly from the dread natural to the mind

of whatever is proposed by the object of its fear, but chiefly with a view, that, by the neighbourhood of Rochester to the sea coast, he might the more easily find the means of escape: But the pretence he made use of was, that some of his own guards were in that town. Hallifax begged the King to drop thoughts of Rochester; and, when the King objected, that there was no furniture for him at Ham, answered, that it could easily be transported from one of the neighbouring royal houses. Shrewsbury, from the gallantry natural to a soldier, treated James with high respect. Delamere stood silent, pleased, yet pensive. But, as soon as the Prince heard of the strange place of residence which James had chosen, perceiving his design, he gave orders that his desire should be complied with.

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JAMES, disliking the river, desired to pass through the city, and to go by land: Hallifax, with indifference, answered, "That his presence in passing through the city would create disturbances, and move pity." By the carelessness of his own servants, who now looked to new masters, James continued in his barge an hour after he was ready, by which he missed the tide, and did not arrive at Gravesend till three hours after the sun was set in the month of December. Only five persons of distinction attended him: Lord Arran, son to the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Aylesbury, Lord Litchfield, Lord Dunbarton, and Colonel Richard Hamilton an Irish officer. The Dutch guards, in open boats, rowed before and behind him: Objects which struck him with terror, though it was not intended that they should. In passing the tower, he reflected on the instability of all human things; that Skelton whom he had lately committed prisoner there, who had in a few weeks after been appointed governor by him, was now prisoner again in the same place; that Lord Delamere, whom he had formerly sent twice prisoner to the tower, and whose life he had brought into danger by a trial, had carried him a message to depart from his own palace; and that, from amongst above twelve millions of subjects, he had only five friends to attend him.

James goes
to Rochester.

THE Prince arrived at St. James's, the evening of the day on which the King left it. The multitude was prepared to receive

The Prince
arrives in
London.

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him with those acclamations which are always paid to success. Despising their levity, he went through the park to avoid them. But he received the congratulations of the bishops, of the London clergy, of the dissenters, of the city of London, and of the lawyers, with respect: A lively saying of Serjeant Maynard, then ninety years of age, who came at the head of the lawyers, is remembered: For the Prince having paid him this compliment on the vigour of his age, "That he had outlived all the men of the law of his time:" Maynard answered, "I should have outlived the law itself, if your Highness had not come over." All ranks hastened to pay their respects to the Prince. Lord Mulgrave was the foremost to press for admittance: Whilst he waited at the door of the Prince's chamber, Bentinck observing him without his staff of Lord Chamberlain, said, "Comment, mi Lord, vous avez quitté votre baton?" Mulgrave answered, partly with good, and partly with bad humour: "Il est bien temps *."

Proceedings
of the peers.

THREE days after, the Prince assembled the peers in the palace, to the number of about seventy, laid his declaration before them, desired them to consider the best means to attain its ends, and, without explaining himself any further, retired. They instantly returned him thanks for coming over, and most of them signed the Exeter association. But Lord Wharton of the Prince's party refused it, saying with a sarcasm which hit most of the assembly, he had signed so many associations, that he looked upon them as trifles. In order to give the greater appearance of solemnity and independence to their proceedings, they then adjourned to their own house at Westminster, where they chose Lord Halifax their preses, and issued an order for all papists to remove from London: Steps which pointed out to the people, that they were to act by their own authority, though the King was in the kingdom.

James flies to
France.

JAMES lingered five days in England, fearful to stay, and yet unwilling to go. During this period the bishops, whom he had for-

* Clarendon's diary.

merly persecuted, suspecting that he intended to go beyond seas, advised him to conceal himself in the city, and to wait events there. Whilst Lord Balcarras and Lord Dundee were with * him, an English Lord came in and told him, there were ten thousand disbanded soldiers about London, who could be brought together in a few hours, to fall on the Dutch troops who were dispersed in their quarters; and that he had a commission from many officers offering him their service for that end. "My Lord," answered the King, "You, I know, have honour; but those who send you have not." Yet, ignorant of the part which Lord Danby had secretly acted towards him, he offered to retire † into Yorkshire, if that Lord would give him protection: An offer which Danby prevented his repeating, by putting him in mind of the faults he had committed. A letter from the Queen, insisting upon the honour of his promise to join her speedily, at last determined his resolution; in which he was confirmed by Lord Middleton, who, being of a cautious temper himself, inspired timidity into his master. This letter had been intercepted, opened, and carried to the Prince, who was too well pleased with the contents, not to forward it to the King. Orders were given to make the guards, which were slight before, still slighter. On the 23d of December, in the night, attended by the Duke of Berwick, and two other persons, James went on horseback to a small vessel which was prepared for him, and which carried him to Ambleteuse in France, leaving a terrible example to all British Kings, not to invade the liberties or religion of Britain.

He left on his table at Rochester a paper, in which strokes of a high indignant spirit, mixed with zeal for his own religion, appeared. When this paper was published, the adherents and the enemies of the King remarked, the former with reverence, the latter with contempt, that those projects about religion, which

* MS. memoirs of the late Lord Balcarras. They do not mention the peer's name. His Lordship had the anecdote from his father. † Reresby, 325.

PART I. had lost him his kingdom, occupied his last thoughts when he
BOOK VI. left it.

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LEWIS XIV. received him with the highest marks of consideration and honour ; either from policy, or sincere regard ; perhaps from both. But the greatness shewn in this generosity made the Prince, who stood in need of it, appear in a light so much the more humbling.

B O O K VII.

THE Prince calls together the Members of Charles the Second's two last Parliaments.—Proceedings of the Peers.—Of the Meeting of Commons.—Of the Scotch in London.—State of Men's Minds before the Convention meets.—The Prince's Behaviour and Letter to the Convention.—State of Parties among the Commons.—Commons pass the Vote of Abdication.—State of Parties in the House of Lords, and Intrigues there.—Proceedings of the House of Lords, on the 1st, 2d, and 3d Days of their Debates.—The Houses differ.—Effects of this Difference in the Nation.—Conference between the Houses.—The Prince opens his Sentiments.—The Houses agree.—The Settlement of the Government, and Claim of Rights.—Arrival of the Princess, and her Behaviour.—Tender of the Crown, and Reflections upon it.

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THE King's second flight did not make those violent impressions upon the minds of his subjects, which the first had done. The spirits of men, harrassed and exhausted with suspense and perplexity, sunk into a momentary insensibility, wished for repose, and hoped to find it, for a time at least, in the disappearance of the King. His fall produced a calm, and a relief from anxiety, not pity for him, not indignation against him; the weakness of his behaviour having stifled those passions equally in the breasts of his friends and of his foes.

State of
men's minds
upon the
King's se-
cond flight.

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The Prince
calls toge-
ther the
members of
Charles II's
parliament.

Dec. 23.

Proceedings
of the peers.

THE Prince's situation had now become delicate. In his manifesto he had declared, that the calling of a free parliament was the chief end of his expedition. But, to assemble a parliament upon the writs which had been issued by the King, was to acknowledge his authority; and to call it by his own authority, without any other, might have the appearance of usurpation. The Prince's good sense, which always served him most when he stood most in need of it, extricated him from this difficulty: There was already a house of peers in action; and, in order to supply the form of a house of commons, he, the same day that news arrived of the King's flight from Rochester, summoned those who had been members of any of Charles II.'s parliaments, together with the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, to meet him, three days after, at St. James's.

In this interval, the peers assembled the day after the King's flight, in the house of Lords, where the strain of their debates corresponded to the perturbation of their minds *. It was proposed by some Lords, in the interest of James, to begin with reading the Prince of Orange's declaration: But this, as a restraint upon his future prospects, was over-ruled. Other Lords, in the same interest, begged that the King's paper of apology for his flight, which was then in the possession of Lord Middleton, secretary of state, might be read, as the last words of their sovereign, before he was compelled to leave his kingdoms: But, upon the assurance of Lord Godolphin, that it contained nothing which could give satisfaction to the house, they dropped their intreaties; falsely imagining that that Lord was in the same interest with themselves: Lord Paget maintained, that the King's retreat was a demise in law; and moved, that the Princess of Orange might be declared Queen. He was seconded by the bishop of London. But this motion was disagreeable to the whigs, because, by making no provisions for the security of liberty, it hastened matters too much; and to the Prince, because it preferred his consort to himself. With a view to draw the attention upon an object which might exclude the pretensions both of the Prince and Princess of Orange, Lord Cla-

* Clarendon's diary, 24th December.

London pressed for an enquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales; but was interrupted by Lord Wharton, who said, "He wondered to hear any body mention that child who was once called the Prince of Wales." Some Lords, attentive to the ancient forms of government, advised, that those members of the commons, who were already returned upon the writs which had been issued, should meet at the time specified in the writs, and give orders for proceeding in the other elections: But their advice was slighted by both parties; by the King's enemies, lest a parliament assembled upon his writs might seem to act under his authority; and by his friends, because they did not chuse to have a parliament assembled at all in the present disposition of things. At length, the assembly resolved upon an address to the Prince, which contained two important articles: The one, that he should, in his own name, call a convention of the states, to meet on the 22d of January; the other, that, in the mean time, he should take upon him the administration of all public affairs. To these requests a third was added: "That the prince would shew the most particular attention to the condition of Ireland:" A country which had been long the object of fear and jealousy to the English. This addition was opposed by the Prince's friends*: A circumstance of which little notice was taken at the time, but which was afterwards retorted on the Prince himself. The address was signed by the whole house, many of whom had been members of the old court and council. But, while the greatest number joined in it, from a conviction that the measure was necessary, some were influenced by example, and others by a notion † that the best way to serve their old master, was to avoid making their zeal for his service conspicuous.

THE Prince, who thought it a popular measure to delay the acceptance of power from the nobles, until power was likewise offered by the people, made answer to the Lords, "That he would consider of their address." Immediately after, he convened the assembly of commons, and asked their advice, "How to pursue the ends of his declaration in calling a free parliament?" This assembly, imi-

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They address the Prince to take administration, and to call a convention.

Proceedings of the members of Charles II.'s parliaments.

* Duke of Buckingham.

† Duke of Buckingham's works, Vol. II. p. 94.

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tating the example which the other had set them, retired to the house of commons, chose Mr. Powle for their speaker, and repeated, in an address to the Prince, the requests which had been made by the peers. But, notwithstanding all this attention to popularity, it was thought by many, that, by avoiding to call the members of the late Parliament to this assembly, he had discovered a jealousy of part of the nation, which was neither decent nor merited. Even in the Prince's manner of accepting the administration, those who narrowly observed his words and looks thought they discovered either pride or reserve. He did not return thanks to the Lords and commons, in his answer to their address; and the expressions he made use of seemed to indicate the disposition of one who conferred, rather than of one who received a favour.

Quiet state
of the nation.

THESE affairs were all transacted in the course of a few days, and during the appearance of the most perfect calm. The Prince immediately exercised every act of government; summoned the convention to meet; ordered all place-men to resume their functions; rectified disorders in the revenue; restrained, by a proclamation, the abuse of the press upon political subjects; ordered Barillon, the French ambassador, to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours; and removed the English guards, and the rest of the King's troops, twenty miles from London. He also new-modelled the army, by dismissing some officers, and breaking some corps, and charged Lord Churchill with the execution of both. Of the corps which were broke, the one most talked of was Lord Dover's troop of life-guards; because the Prince's own troop of Dutch guards was put in its place. With a view to give the city an interest in his success, he borrowed from it L. 200,000. All his orders were obeyed, as if he had been already King of England.

The Prince's
behaviour to
the Scotch in
London.

WHEN the news arrived in Scotland of James's flight from London, most men of any rank hastened to that city; some to plead their sufferings, others their services; some to make apologies for what they had done, and others for what they neglected to do. All were received with attention: But the hurry of public business freed the Prince from the inconveniency of particular explanations, and from the awkward situation of pretend-

ing to listen to boasts and complaints, upon subjects in most of which he was but little interested. His attention to all filled individuals with expectations: His silence upon business, being general, galled none with disappointments: Almost every man who had gone to London resolved to merit that favour which, in imagination, he possessed.

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WHILE the minds of the Scotch were in this disposition, the Prince, upon the 7th of January, assembled all the peers and considerable gentlemen of Scotland who were in London at the time, and asked their advice, "how their religion and liberties might be saved." They withdrew to Whitehall to the number of 30 peers, and 80 gentlemen; and, having chosen the Duke of Hamilton president of the meeting, they drew up an address to the Prince, in a similar strain with those of the two English assemblies: They intreated him to take upon him the administration of Scotland, until a convention of the estates, to be summoned by him, should, upon the 16th of March, be assembled. In this procedure, because there was more seeming unanimity, there was less sincerity than in that of the English assemblies: Several members were under previous engagements to counteract the ends * of the address in which they concurred. But one man alone had the spirit to speak out their sentiments and his own: The Earl of Arran, eldest son of the president of the assembly, delivered his opinion in these words: "I respect the Prince of Orange as much as any man here does. I think him a brave Prince, and that we all lie under great obligations to him for delivering us from popery. But, while I bestow these just praises upon him, I cannot violate my duty to the King, my master. I must distinguish between his popery and his person: I dislike the one; but have sworn and do owe allegiance to the other. This makes it impossible for me to concur in an address, which gives the administration of his kingdom to another. We are Scottish not English men. The king's grandfather and father did not abdicate the crown of Scotland, even by quitting their native country: How then can the King do it by quitting

Assembly of
Scotch at
London, and
Lord Arran's
motion.

* Lord Balcarras's memoirs.

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"England only? The Prince asks our advice. My advice is, that we should address him, to invite the King to return, and call a free parliament, which may provide, in a constitutional way, for the security of our property, liberty, and religion. All other ways are unconstitutional. By this alone the nation can avoid present and prevent future discord." But this appearance of an open and generous freedom was not received without suspicion. Men reflected, that, while the earl of Arran had been attending the King in his barge to Rochester, the Duke of Hamilton was waiting upon the Prince of Orange to St. James's; and the conduct of both was imputed to a concert between the father and son, that, which ever of the contending parties should prevail, the house of Hamilton might still have merit to plead with the victor. The Prince of Orange was more just to the sincerity of Lord Arran, by assuring him *, that he respected men of honour, to whatever party they might be attached. Yet, amidst this liberality of sentiment, he did not lose sight of prudence; for he soon after committed Arran to the Tower, under another pretence.

Scotch detained in London, till hands kissed.

THE Prince made use of another politic art with regard to the Scotch: Though the way from Scotland to London was open to all, the roads from thence to Scotland were, by his orders, stopped up. Public safety was made the pretence for this: But the real intention was to detain the Scotch nobility and gentry †, until they should kiss hands upon his elevation to the throne of England: A ceremony which, it was thought, would, in many, be a pledge of their acquiescence in his title, lay his enemies open to the suspicions of their own party, and create an impression in Scotland, and still more in England, of the unanimity of the Scotch in his favour.

State of men's minds before the convention meets.

THE 22d of January was now fast approaching, when the English convention was to meet, and the Prince's administration to cease. This interval was every where employed in private conversation, or in public writings, upon the proper method of settling the kingdom. Multitudes neglected their private affairs, from atten-

* Crichton, 150.

† Lord Balcarra.

tion to those of the public. Even women became politicians, and filled all places, where they came, with noise and altercation. Every one had his own scheme of government, and was astonished, that his neighbour did not agree with him. Some heads of parties who were in London endeavoured to adjust a national plan, in which all might concur: But, while each insisted to lead, and none would consent to follow, attempts to reconciliation proved only the sources of new dissention. The eyes of Europe were turned upon the scene that was to be exhibited in so extraordinary an assembly. Nations who were lovers of liberty, and inflamed with high sentiments, looked with reverence upon the English, as the avengers of injured laws. But those who paid respect to established customs, whatever they were, considered them as rebels to all lawful authority, and as a people given up to their own inextricable distractions.

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THE Prince of Orange, who had more interest than any in what was to follow *, seemed the only person in England unconcerned, and unengaged, amid this universal ferment. He made no personal applications, and, where his friends made any, they confessed they had no authority from him. He checked the officiousness of Burnet, who, in the beginning of January proposed † that the prayers for the King should be struck out of the liturgy. He went little abroad: He was difficult of access. When access was obtained, he appeared civil, but not cordial, listened with attention, but answered not; and the few questions he asked ‡ seemed to proceed only from the common curiosity of a stranger. He even went a hunting ||, and dined at a private gentleman's house in the country, two days before the convention was to take the great question of the settlement of the nation into consideration. In the whole of his behaviour, he not only kept, but affected to shew that he kept, his inclinations, concerning the future measures of the convention, a mystery; either from grandeur of mind, or from the affectation of it; or perhaps from a desire to see the character and actions of the English in their native colours; conscious, that an assembly of com-

The Prince's
behaviour
during this
period.

* Sir John Reresby, p. 306

† Clarendon's Diary, January 5.

‡ Clarendon, passim.

|| Clarendon, January 26.

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mons, most of whose members had twice voted to exclude James from the throne before he enjoyed it, an assembly of peers, which had even refused to read the last paper of apology which he had left behind him, an army which had abandoned him whilst he commanded it, a fleet which had followed the example of the army, a church which he had persecuted, and a people who had taken arms almost universally against him, would never think themselves safe, without combining their interests with those of the only person who, obeyed by two fleets and two armies, could secure that liberty which all loved, and that impunity which almost all thought they needed.

The Prince's
letter to the
convention;
and effects it
produces.

THE convention was opened by a letter from the Prince, in which he desired them to provide for the security of their religion, liberties, and laws. He likewise reminded them of the unsettled state of Ireland, and of the perils to which the Dutch were exposed from the want of their forces to defend their country, and pressed for a speedy relief of the one, and a suitable attention to the services of the other. He even expressed his expectations that they would assist the Dutch in the war which France had declared against them whilst he was in England. But the convention, which was more intent upon their own affairs than upon those of other nations, contented themselves in their address, with requesting him to continue his administration, until they should make farther application to him, and to give particular attention to the present state of Ireland. To this address, the Prince answered coldly, "I am glad, that what I have done has pleased you; and, *since you have desired me* to continue the administration of affairs, I am willing to accept it." But the reason of his coldness appeared in these additional words: "I must recommend to you the consideration of affairs abroad, which makes it fit for you to expedite your business, not only for making a settlement at home, but for the safety of all Europe." But the convention, instead of giving him any satisfaction with respect to foreign interests, adjourned for some days; and the commons appointed the 28th of the month, for taking into consideration the state of the nation.

As that part of the convention which consisted of commons had been chosen by the people, and during a popular ferment, the commons were mostly of the whig party. But, as the individuals had been separated from each other by attendance upon their elections in their different counties, they had formed no common plan of party. Every man, therefore, left to himself, followed his own course, and discovered his own temper. All readily agreed, that James should be excluded from the government: But, agreeable to the speculative and independent genius of the nation, they differed among themselves, both upon the principle, and upon the mode of execution. The republicans insisted, that James, for his misconduct, should be arraigned by a formal accusation, and deposed by a regular sentence. Some of the whig party maintained, that the King's flight was equivalent to a voluntary renunciation of the government: And others, that there was an original contract between Prince and people, by which he was obliged to observe the laws, and they to obey him no longer than he did so; and that James's breach of his part of this contract had restored his subjects to their original liberty. Both republicans and whigs, however, agreed in general, that the throne was become vacant. In the choice of the person who was to fill the vacancy, some pointed at the Prince, and others at the Princess of Orange. The humourous character of the nation intruded itself into the most serious interests: For Sir Charles Sedley, whose daughter, James's mistress, had been created Countess of Dorchester by her lover, though her father had always looked upon the honour as a splendid indignity, said *, "He wished to make the King's daughter a Queen, in return for his Majesty's having made his daughter a Countess."

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State of the
whig-party
of the com-
mons.

THE tories, on the other hand, started at the ideas of deposition and election, as breaking in upon the antient tory principle of the sacred nature of hereditary right. They founded upon the rule of the constitution, that the throne is never vacant, but, upon the death of one King, is instantly filled with another. But they acknowledged, that the crown was in a state of inability, as much as if James had been in a state of lunacy or non-age; and there-

And of the
tory-party of
the com-
mons.

* Granger Biog. Britan. vol. 2. p. 554.

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fore, they proposed, that a regent should be appointed to act during his life, as was the custom when the King was incapable of acting. Yet, to shew that they meant no favour to James by the proposal, they readily concurred with the whigs, in a resolution of the house, that a papist was incapable of wearing the crown of England.

THE Prince had the mortification to perceive, that some of those who were the most attached to his cause, were the least attached to his interest. Sir Edward Seymour, who had set on foot the association at Exeter, spoke with great warmth against the vacancy of the throne, and for a settlement by a regent. And some of the whigs pointed at laying such restrictions upon the authority of either King or Regent, as would have reduced the offices almost to empty titles.

Commons
pass the vote
of abdica-
tion.

AT last the wiser part of the whigs, at the head of whom was Mr. Somers, persuaded their party to make their own sentiments of liberty bend to the nature of the constitution, and to the principles of the tories. Though the tories maintained, that Kings could not be deposed, they did not deny that they might abdicate. The whigs took advantage of this, and proposed a vote, which, without asserting a right in the convention to depose James, joined the two circumstances of his misconduct and of his flight, to infer, that he had himself abdicated the crown; and which, in compliment to the tories, left it undetermined, whether the defect arising from that abdication was to be supplied by a king or a regent. The vote was in these words: "That King James the Second having endeavoured
" to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the ori-
" ginal contract between King and people, and having, by the ad-
" vice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, violated the fundamen-
" tal laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicat-
" ed the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." The vote, thus complicated, passed without a division of the house.

And send it
up by Mr.
Hampden.

THIS great determination, one of the most memorable in the history of mankind, was the work of one day. The vote was no soon-

er drawn up, than the commons sent it to the Lords for their concurrence. Mr. Hampden was the person who carried it up. The minds of all were struck with the awful dispensations of Providence, when they saw the bill for the dethronement of the King presented, in name of the people of England, to the assembly of peers, by a person whose life had been brought into danger both by the King and his brother, and whose grandfather was the first that shook the throne of the Stuart race.

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BUT, when the house of Lords took this resolution of the commons into their consideration, a more regular and steady appearance of party disclosed itself. As the peers were not obliged to attend elections, most of them had continued in London since the arrival of the Prince: Hence they had had both time and opportunity to concert their measures, and range their parties; and therefore, in the house of Lords, the parties of tory and of whig, which, in the hour of common danger, had united against the common object of their dislike, appeared now, when that danger was over, to resume their former stations and antipathies, and threatened the nation with perplexities and danger.

State of parties in the house of Lords.

THE tories were the most numerous; and, recollecting their former sufferings from the meanest of mankind in a republican cause, all of them were alarmed with the principles disclosed in the debates of the commons: But they had not the force of a joint body, because they were divided amongst themselves.

The tory-party divided between the King and his daughter.

A few of them were attached to the interest of King James. The chief of these were the bishops who had been persecuted by him, with the exception of Lloyd of St Asaph; and to these Rochester and Clarendon joined themselves, partly from principle, but more because they had been slighted by the Prince of Orange*: Rochester suspected, that the Prince and Princess remembered his former incivility, when, even after his disgrace, he had not, in passing to Spaw, paid them the common attention of a visit. And Cla-

* Clarendon's Diary, *passim*.

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rendon was disobliged, because the Prince, instead of presenting his old government of Ireland to his ambition, had entered into treaty with Tyrconnel. The rest of the tories favoured the interests of the Princesses, because these, on the one hand, seemed more compatible with the right of succession than the election of the Prince of Orange, and, on the other, would, if yielded to, equally prevent the return of King James.

Those who favoured the Princesses, divided betwixt a regent and a Queen.

Nottingham, at the head of those who are for a regent. The principles he proceeds upon.

THAT part of the tories which favoured the Princesses was itself divided. One part of them adopted the idea of settling the government in a regency, and proposed to appoint the Princess of Orange regent; the other intended to place her upon the throne.

LORD Nottingham was at the head of the party which inclined to give the regency to the Princess. He inveighed, "That the tories in the house of commons had made a false step, in giving way to the words of a vote, which, whilst it seemed to comply with their principles, had, in reality, given a triumph to those of the whigs: That it was the doctrine of an original contract between King and people which had paved the way to the overthrow of the throne, and buried the peerage, the church, the parliament, and even the law, in its ruins: That a vacancy supposed an intermission of the monarchy: That abdication implied a cessation of the office of royalty, and consequently strengthened the supposal of a vacancy in the throne: That this vacancy could be supplied only by a new election; and that one election would serve as a precedent for the repetition of others, until the constitution ended in an elective monarchy or a republic. But that, if a regent was appointed, old forms would be followed, the monarchy preserved unviolated, and the Princess of Orange, because she was the nearest relation to the crown capable of acting as regent, would have the legal title to the office."

A regency supported by three bodies of men.

THAT part of the tories which favoured a regency was numerous by the junction of three different bodies of men: Almost all the bishops and high-church Lords, being ashamed to retract the

monarchical principles they had so long professed, wished for an opportunity of shewing, that, though they had from necessity suspended their principles of passive obedience, they would not without necessity relinquish those of indefeasible hereditary right. These men, at the same time, favoured the Princesses, because the Princesses were attached to the church; and they suspected the Prince, because he had been educated in the tenets of Calvin. Again, the private friends of James thought, that, if they could not preserve his right, it was at least gaining one point to preserve the young Prince's. That the prospect of the son's succession would keep the foes of the father in awe: And that a regency would embarrass the Prince of Orange in the execution, and make him jealous of a people, who, in return for all his services, had not only preferred his consort to himself, but had made him no more than the delegate of another's power during another's life. Many too in high life, guided by humour, or cautious in their tempers, joined a party in which their discontents or their fears might pass for principle. For the reserve of the Prince, in avoiding to influence the measures of the convention, offended the pride of some, who thought that a crown was worth asking, and that gratitude for favours arose in proportion to the difficulties of success. But more reflected, that in their persons, estates, and honours, they ran greater risks than other men; because, in every great revolution of government, they were always the first to be punished for the offences which all had committed. And they hesitated, when they considered the open disobedience of Ireland; the disposition of Scotland not yet known; the espousal of James's interest by a monarch who had been accustomed to cause all Europe to tremble; the uncertainty of the Prince of Orange's life, from the weakly state of his health, remarked by all who approached him*; and the Dutch war with France, which they foresaw could not fail very soon to draw his troops and his person from amongst them.

THAT part of the Tories which inclined to place the Princess of Orange upon the throne, was conducted by Lord Danby. This Lord perceived, that a government by a regent supposed the admi-

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2d body.

* Reresby, 324.

Danby at the head of those who are for a Queen. The principles he proceeds upon.

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He makes
proposals to
the Princess.

nistratjon to be in one, and the right in another; and foresaw the danger to which men would think themselves exposed, in opposing a Prince whose right was acknowledged even by the mode of government itself. In order to prevent these consequences, he supposed, that the right of James was at an end by his abdication, and of the young Prince by his illegitimacy: From thence he concluded, that the throne was not vacant, but filled with the lineal heir, the Princess of Orange; and maintained, that her elevation was so far from being a breach of the order of succession, that it was a direct continuation of it. Deep and bold in his schemes, Danby even sent over a messenger with a letter to the Princess in Holland, to assure her, that, if she would join her personal interest to his, he would place her alone upon the throne: A measure to which he was prompted, partly by ambition, and partly * by a disappointment, which he found he was to receive from the Prince, in his views upon that treasurer's staff which, in a former reign, he had carried.

The whigs of
the peers
united to
make the
Prince King.

SUCH were the views of the tory-party. The whigs, and chiefly Lord Halifax, were earnest to place the Prince of Orange upon the throne. Yet a few of them concurred in Lord Danby's project, from a desire of shewing their reverence for the constitution, and their independence upon the Prince.

Proceedings
of the Lords.
The whigs
successful the
first day

LORD Nottingham was sensible of the art of the whigs of the house of Commons, in leaving the question undetermined, whether the government should be settled in a King or a regent, while yet they had in their vote established principles which paved the way to the former mode: He foresaw, that, as the tories in the house of Lords were not so united in their views or principles as the whigs, they might split in canvassing that vote, article by article: But he knew that most of them would unite in the project of a regency: And therefore he began the debate upon the vote of the commons, where the commons had stopped: For he brought on a question, † Whether a regency, with the administration of regal power, and the stile of

* Reresby, 308.

† Journ. H. of Lords, January 28.

"King James the Second, during the life of that King, would be the best and safest way to preserve the protestant religion, and the laws of this Kingdom." Lord Rochester supported the settlement by a regency, gaining, of all others, the greatest honour in the course of these debates. After a debate which lasted until midnight, the whigs carried it for a government by a King, not a regent, by a majority of two voices; the numbers being 51 to 49: A victory owing to the accession which Lord Danby brought to the side of the whigs; and to the absence of Archbishop Sancroft, who, holding the convention to be unlawful, observed, during those times of great revolution, an unglorious neutrality; of the Lords Huntingdon, and Mulgrave, who alledged, that they could not vote either way, without putting an indignity upon their old master, to whom they had been obliged; and of Lord Churchill, under the pretence of a similar delicacy, but, in reality, because the Princess Anne would not take her own resolution, until she should know that of her sister. Lord Godolphin voted for a regency, according to the method he had long followed, of keeping measures with both parties.

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NEXT day, the Lords debated the vote of the commons, article by article. The first question was, "Whether there was an original contract between Prince and people, which had been broken by King James?" A philosophical question, which only in a nation of freeman and philosophers could have been made the subject of debate in a senate. But here the tory-party split again. For many thought they could not justify to themselves, or to others, their late resistance, unless upon the supposition that James had first infringed his duties to them. The whigs carried the question by a majority of seven, the numbers being 53 to 46. Yet the tories carried another question: For the word *abdicated*, in the vote of the commons, was changed into *deserted*; some thinking that James had deserted his station, who could not be brought to agree that this amounted to an actual abdication.

Appearances doubtful on the 2d day.

On the third day, which was the 30th of January, the great concluding question was taken up: Whether King James, having bro-

M m

Tories victorious on the 3d day, and the Lords disagree to the vote of the commons.

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“ken the original contract, and deserted the government, the throne was thereby vacant?” A question, in the debating of which all the animosity of parties, and all the abilities of men inured to the greatest affairs, were exerted. During the debate, the whigs, perceiving that Lord Danby, upon his principle of the throne being already filled by the Princess, would vote against them in the question of the vacancy, proposed this question: “Whether, instead of the words in the vote of the commons, *The throne is thereby vacant*, should be inserted these words *, *The Prince and Princess of Orange be declared King and Queen?*” But, upon a previous question, “Whether this question shall be now put?” it was resolved in the negative; the numbers being 52 to 47. After this, the question being put, “Whether to agree with the commons, that the throne is vacant?” Danby and his friends voted, as had been foreseen; and it was resolved in the negative, by a majority of 14 voices; the numbers being 55 to 41. Against this resolution, 37 Lords entered their dissents†; of whom the most remarkable was Lord Mulgrave, whose delicacy had in this short interval been removed.

The Lords disclaim the cause of K. James.

YET this victory of the tories brought no advantage to James: For, in the course of these debates‡, the Lords ordered a thanksgiving for the delivery of the nation from popery and arbitrary power, and || the prayers for James to be suspended in their house: They concurred with the vote of the commons, that the kingdom could not be governed by a popish King; † they refused to receive a letter from James; and they gave orders, that the anniversary thanksgiving for his accession, on the ensuing 6th of February, should be discontinued.

But preserve silence with regard to the pretensions of his son.

THE victory of the tories brought as little advantage to the young Prince. During the course of the debates, it having been proposed to examine into his legitimacy, the proposal was unani-

* Journals house of commons, Jan. 31.

† Journals house of Lords, Jan. 31.

‡ Ibid. Jan. 22.

|| Ibid. Jan. 28.

‡ Ibid. Feb. 2. and Clarendon's

Diary, Feb. 2. and 4.

mously over-ruled; some drawing a veil over his pretensions, lest they should be impaired; others, lest they should be sustained; some thinking it a prudent moderation to leave room for his claim at some future period, in order to make the friends to his family keep a guard upon their actions, from the fear of disappointing that claim altogether; others of bolder spirits declaring, that a dormant title to the crown was a benefit to the subject, from the dependence in which it would always keep the Prince who possessed it; but most disliking explanations, from the delicacy of the subject and the uncertainty of events.

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AFTER the two houses had differed concerning the vacancy of the throne, the individuals of which they were composed made their appeal for their conduct to the public. The people entered into the dispute with the usual ardour of Englishmen in what relates to the public; and in an instant the animosities of whig and tory, with more than usual bitterness, were transferred from the two houses of convention, to the streets, the public walks, the coffee-houses, and taverns, and to the inmost recesses of company and private families. In vain had the commons in their debates protested, that they meant only to apply a present remedy to a present distress. In vain did most of the peers, in private and in public, disclaim all attachment to the person of James. The tories exclaimed, "That the commons looked forward to futurity, and intended to make the monarchy elective, or to establish a republic:" And the whigs, "That the peers wished to replace James upon the throne." But those who looked at consequences more than at the reciprocal complaints of parties, lamented, "That one branch of the legislature deemed the throne to be vacant, while the other deemed it to be filled; and that, although James seemed excluded by both as a papist, yet there was no likelihood of their agreeing who should take the benefit of his exclusion."

Differences
between the
houses, how
received by
the nation;

THE populace, always impatient, because suspense is attended with uncertainty and fear, two days after the vote of the Lords, assembled tumultuously, and presented petitions to both houses of convention to settle the Prince and Princess of Orange upon the throne.

and by the
populace of
London.

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While the members were passing through the long lanes of people which were assembled in crouds at the doors of the houses of parliament, they were loaded with imprecations or with blessings, according as they were thought to stand affected. But the Prince, scorning to receive power from such ignoble hands, issued a proclamation, and stopped the disorderly proceeding.

Conference
between the
houses.

THE day after this tumult, the Lords sent their amendments to the commons. The commons, upon a division of 182 to 151, adhered to the terms of their resolution, and sent up their reasons to the Lords, for not complying with their amendments. The Lords continued firm, and combated these with counter-reasons, in which they did not forget to declare *, " Their willingness to secure the nation against the return of King James ;" and sent their own reasons to the commons. A second conference ensued on the 5th of February. In the course of this altercation, the heats of temper entered into the heats of party : Obstinacy grew from opposition : And a free conference between the houses was therefore resolved upon, as the only resource that remained to prevent a rupture.

THIS free conference was held next day, the 6th of February. But, as the managers appointed for the conference were chiefly the most violent of the whigs among the commons, and of the tories among the Lords ; and as the one side intended to raise the Prince of Orange to the throne, either alone, to display the power of the people, or jointly with the Princess, to destroy the rights of her father's family, by seeming to respect them ; and the other, to place the Princess alone upon it, either as regent, to preserve the rights of her father's family, or as Queen, to prevent them from being altogether cancelled ; but both, without shewing what their real intentions were. The arguments made use of in the conference were obscure and affected. The true causes of difference were kept from the sight, and false ones hung out in their places. Men, who met on such terms, to convince, not to be convinced, to impose, not to enlighten, could not easily persuade each other, or their hearers. The con-

* Journ. H. of Lords, Feb. 5.

ference therefore promised to the public only a continuance of those dissensions, which it was intended to remove.

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The Prince declares his sentiments, and threatens to leave England.

DURING these debates, the Prince of Orange had felt all the agonies that can be supposed to arise, either from disappointed ambition, or from the sense of services ill requited *. The silence which he had resolved to observe, added, as happens in all great passions, to his pain. He kept the Princess in Holland, on purpose to prevent intrigues for her interest. At first he formed the expectation of being placed alone upon the throne, and endeavoured to bring this about by the secret intrigues of Bentinck. But an instance of the boldness of English spirit checked him. For, Bentinck having urged the design, at a consultation of the Prince's party, which was held in Mr. William Herbert's lodgings, who was then confined with the gout; Herbert started from his bed, and declared that if he had foreseen such a design, he would never have drawn a sword for the Prince. At last, letters arrived from the Princess: For, pleased to have an opportunity of shewing how little she merited the precautions which the Prince had taken against her, she wrote an answer to Danby's letter, in which she expressed her resentment against his attempt to divide her interest from her husband's; and sent his letter, together with her own, to the Prince. Upon receiving these letters, the Prince, tired out with the procrastination of the English, and alarmed to find their divisions endeavoured to be thrown into his own family, thought it was full time to interpose, and to suspend the rage of parties by the only thing which could do it, the terror of his leaving a divided nation to the settlement of their own differences, and to the mercy of a Sovereign whom they had offended. Having therefore convened Danby, Hallifax, Shrewsbury, and a few others of most eminence, he said, "He had not hitherto
"interfered in their debates, lest he might have appeared to inter-
"rupt their freedom. But he must now speak out. Some, he
"heard proposed to settle the government in the hands of a regent,
"during the King's life. He had no objection: It might be a wise
"project: But, if he was the person intended for the office, he

* Duke of Buckingham.

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“thought proper to let them know, he would accept of no dignity
 “dependent upon the life of another. Others, he understood pro-
 “posed to settle the Princess alone on the throne, and admit him to
 “a participation of power through her courtesy. Her rights he
 “would not oppose: Her virtues he respected: No one knew
 “them better than he did: Crowns to others had charms: To
 “him they had none: But he thought it proper also to let them
 “know, that he would hold no power dependent upon the will of
 “of a woman. Therefore, if either of these schemes were adopted,
 “he could give them no assistance in the settlement of the nation;
 “but would return to his own country, happy in the consciousness
 “of the services he had endeavoured, though in vain, to do to
 “theirs.”

The Lords
 agree with
 the com-
 mons, and
 causes of the
 agreement.

THIS declaration had the effect which the Prince intended. All wise men saw there was no medium in the present state of things, between placing him upon the throne, and recalling the King to it. Every consideration of safety and of prudence opposed the latter measure: Necessity called for the former. In this dilemma, the free and daring spirit of the English determined the balance in favour of the Prince of Orange: For, in matters of government, men are influenced by their feelings, more than by their opinions. Other causes contributed to the Prince's success. The sacrifice which the Princess had made to her husband cooled the church-party in her interest. The Princess of Denmark, after wavering much, * even contradicting herself sometimes, and keeping those long in suspense who respected her rights, or were attached to her fortunes, had, at last, upon the promise of an ample revenue to support her dignity, consented to be postponed to the Prince in the settlement of the crown: A surrender made from an affectation of not appearing too anxious to possess her father's throne, but in reality, from the persuasion † of Lady Churchill, one of the most interested of women, who possessed, at that time, the dominion of her spirit, and who hoped to serve her own interest and her husband's ‡, by betraying those of her mistress. The arts which

* Clarendon, Feb. 5. March 12. Reresby, 314. † Dutchess of Marlborough's Conduct, and Clarendon's Diary, passim. ‡ Duke of Buckingham.

are by all governments made use of, and by all disclaimed, to influence individuals by their hopes or their fears * were also put in practice. Hence, some agreed to come over to the Prince's party, among whom were James's nephews, the Dukes of Southampton, Grafton, and Northumberland; and others, to be absent at the vote, among whom was Lord Godolphin, who pretended he had business with the Prince at the treasury. Crew, the obnoxious bishop of Durham †, who, when appointed one of the ecclesiastical commission by James, had said he rejoiced at it, because it would make his name famous in history, and who was lurking on the sea-coast for a vessel to secure him of impunity in France, hearing there was now an opportunity to cancel the remembrance of past offences in present services, returned to London, to give his vote for that cause of liberty which he had insulted, and against that Prince who had raised him.

FROM these various causes, the apprehensions which had been raised in the public by the keen, and still more by the obscure management of the free conference between the two houses, were removed, when the peers, after the conference was finished, returned to their own house, and debated the subject of the conference. For they resolved to depart from their amendments, and to concur in the vote of the commons, by a majority of fifteen voices; the numbers being 62 to 47, and Lord Danby leading the way to contend for the necessity of acknowledging that vacancy which he had formerly denied. They next debated how the vacancy of the throne should be filled. Lord Hallifax moved, that the Prince should reign alone: One Lord only followed him in this affectation of complaisance. But Lord Danby moved, "That the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen." As men naturally favour the prosperous, the Prince's friends gained an accession of strength upon this motion, and it was agreed to by a majority of 20 voices, the numbers being 65 to 45.

Lords resolve
to fill the
throne with
the Prince
and Princess;

THE peers instantly proceeded to adjust the oath of allegiance. The common form of it had been to swear allegiance to the King,

and fix the
oath of alle-
giance.

* Clarendon, Feb. 6. and passim. † Burnet, vol. II. p. 822, Clarendon's Diary.

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as *rightful and lawful King*. It was objected by the tories that these words imported a precedent title in the Sovereign, but could not apply to the Prince, whose only title was the voice of the people. The whigs, who aimed at things, not at words, agreed that the oath should be in general, to bear true allegiance to King William and Queen Mary. A fatal concession which confounded the distinction between the friends and foes to government, by pointing out to those in the interest of James, the distinction betwixt a King *de facto* and a King *de jure*, and leading them to think they were justified in swearing allegiance to one Prince, at the time they maintained that the right to his crown was in another, and that they were obliged to defend that right whenever he should be in a capacity to assert it himself. Lord Nottingham, who had declared, that though he could not make a King, yet he would obey the King that was made, and who believed that the subjects would refuse to take the ancient oath of allegiance *, was the person who made the motion for the new oaths, Clarendon's † was the ominous hand which drew them.

Reflections of
the populace.

WHEN the news of these votes had spread abroad, even those who attended to the causes of things wondered at the instability of a government, which could pass from the appearance of discord between the houses at their conference in the morning, into their union by these votes of the Lords in the afternoon. But the populace struck, and, according to their nature, perhaps pleased with the instability of human grandeur, reminded each other, how the crown had tottered upon the King's head at his coronation; pointed at the statue of James at Whitehall, which was placed with its back to the palace; and its face to the river; and remarked, that the day on which his throne was declared vacant, and the oaths of allegiance fixed to his successor, was the anniversary of his accession.

Lords put the
exercise of
government
in the King
alone.

NEXT day, the Lords resolved, notwithstanding the joint sovereignty of the Prince and Princess, "that the full regal power should be in the Prince alone in the name of both:" An expedient which, in appearance, paid respect to the rights of the Princess and to the principles of the nation; and averted from her husband the odium of

* Clarendon's Diary, Feb. 5. Reresby, 326. † Journ. H. Lords, Feb. 7.

reigning alone; while, in reality, it conferred the exclusive sovereignty upon him. They resolved further, "That, upon the decease of the
" Prince and Princess, the crown should belong to the heirs of the
" body of the Princess; and, in default of such issue, to the Princess
" Anne, and the heirs of her body; and, in default of such issue,
" to the heirs of the body of the Prince of Orange; and, in default
" of such issue, to the person that should be named in such man-
" ner as should be limited and regulated by act of parliament; and,
" in default of such limitation, to the heirs of the Prince of O-
" range."

THESE resolutions, as soon as framed, were sent to the commons for their concurrence. But the commons, who had taken only one day to declare the throne vacant, now delayed during six days to concur with the Lords in the settlement of the crown, until a declaration of the rights of the subjects, upon the chief articles in dispute between the King and the people, should be adjusted, being determined to make concessions to liberty the condition of the transfer of the crown. In settling the terms of this security, many disputes arose among the members of both houses, and between the houses themselves; disputes in which, for the most part, the difference of opinion only shewed the union of sentiment; the sentiment of freedom, and of the just jealousy of its interests in freemen. The declaration of rights maintained, "That the suspending and dispensing
" powers, as exercised by King James; all courts of ecclesiastical
" commission; the levying of money, or maintaining standing
" forces in time of peace, without consent of parliament; grants of
" fines and forfeitures before conviction; and juries of persons
" not qualified, or not fairly chosen, and who in trials of treason
" were not freeholders; were unlawful. It asserted the freedom of
" election to parliament, the freedom of speech in parliament, and
" the right of the subject to bear arms, and to petition his sove-
" reign." Pitying and respecting human nature, it provided, "That
" excessive bails should not be required, nor excessive fines imposed,
" nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted." And it concluded with the great security of English liberty, "That parliaments should
" be frequently assembled."

Commons
delay till de-
claration of
rights be ad-
justed.

Articles of
the declara-
tion of
rights.

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Reflections
of the nation
upon the de-
claration.

ONE thing very remarkable in the declaration of rights, is, that it condemns not the suspending and dispensing powers, but only those powers as exercised by King James. From this the tories inferred the truth of their principles, with regard to those powers: But, as this was afterwards altered, in the act which converted the declaration into a law, the real victory remained with the whigs.

AFTER this declaration was approved by both houses, numbers exclaimed, "At this great æra, the power of the crown should have been circumscribed, the liberty of the subject defined, and both combined into a system, which would have made the English constitution unchangeable and immortal. But, instead of this, the declaration did not extend to a sufficient variety of objects: It was not sufficiently explicate upon those which it reached: In the last great article of all, the words, *frequent parliaments*, left the intervals of their assembling, and the duration of their sitting, as undeterminate as ever." But those of wiser minds observed, "That the revolution having been brought about by a coalition of whigs and tories, the former were obliged to make concessions to the latter, and to be contented with the concessions which they could get from them in their turn: That political wisdom is founded more upon experience than theory: That all the improvements of the English constitution have arisen from applying remedies to evils that were felt, not to those which men thought they foresaw: That its duration has been owing to the constant vibration between the attempts of the executive and legislative powers upon each other, which fixes the attention of the citizens upon the public, as if they were guards set on watch, and keeps both powers in reciprocal awe of each other: And that the first calm of unanimity in Great Britain will be the last sigh of expiring freedom: That a King, who can raise neither money nor forces without consent of parliament, is under a continual necessity of resorting to it: And that, when the declaration of rights, with all its imperfections, was joined to those constitutional articles which had been already established, the whole records of mankind presented not a system of freedom so complete and so happy."

THE wings of the house of commons, in the zenith of their power, after the vacancy of the throne was declared by both houses, gave still another proof of their moderation, and of their respect for the principles of the Tories. They so far altered the resolution of the Lords, as to strike off that part of it, which, in default of the Princess of Denmark's issue, put the nomination of the succession in the hands of parliament, and in default of such nomination, bestowed the crown on the heirs of the Prince of Orange: An alteration agreeable likewise to the Prince; partly because it gave him an opportunity, through the uncertainty of the succession, to flatter whom he pleased with the hopes of it; and partly because it removed the odium which attended the bringing his collateral heirs at all into view.

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1688.

Alterations
made upon
the order of
succession.

THE tender of the crown, and the declaration of the liberties of the subject, were thrown into one instrument of government. The same day upon which this instrument passed the convention, the Princess of Orange arrived from Holland. The singularity of her situation made her behaviour attended to when she entered the palace. In the confusion of her spirits, she betrayed a womanish levity *, of which the friends of the present and those of the late King equally took advantage; the former, to justify the conduct of those who had given the exclusive administration to her husband; the latter, to draw pity to a prince who had a daughter seemingly so unnatural. She shewed severities also † to her uncles Clarendon, and Rochester, expressing that sense of injuries, which their new master either felt not, or suppressed: and thus manifested in all things, that she made the duties of the daughter and the niece yield to those of the wife.

The arrival
of the Prin-
cess and her
behaviour.

THE day after her arrival, the two houses went in state, to make a free gift of the crown to the Prince and Princess. They began by reading aloud the instrument of government, in order to intimate to the Sovereigns who received it the conditions upon which it was given. Lord Hallifax made the tender of the crown. The Prince and Princess were instantly proclaimed; and, to augment

Tender of
the crown,
and different
reflections
upon it.

* Dutchess of Marlborough.

† Clarendon's Diary, passim.

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the splendour of the ceremony, both houses attended the proclamation. Those persons, who considered that the ultimate end of government was the safety of the people, and that the miseries of one ought not to be put in competition with the happiness of millions, rejoiced: But those who thought that the fates of Princes were the objects of humanity, as well as the fates of their subjects, grieved to see the Princess receive the crown in the hall of that palace from which her father had been driven; and at the gate of which her grandfather had, by some of those who now placed the crown on her head, and by the fathers of others, been brought to the block. Men of philosophical spirits foresaw, that, as both impressions were those of nature, posterity would feel the effects of them, when the millions who now rejoiced or lamented would be laid in the dust.

B O O K V I I I.

MUTINY of the Scottish Regiments in England.—Heads and State of Parties in Scotland.—Vigorous Measures of the Scottish Convention.—Lord Dundee's Attempts to disturb it disappointed.—Forfeiture of James.—Settlement of the Crown, and Claim of Rights.—Panic of a Massacre in Ireland.—Revolt of Londonderry.—William's Neglect of Ireland.—State of Ireland.

PART I.
BOOK VIII.
1689.

AFTER the Prince of Orange had got possession of the government of England, Scotland and Ireland remained still to be settled. But, whilst he was preparing to obtain possession of these kingdoms likewise, he was surprised with a defection in the army, which alarmed him the more, because he recollected that similar incidents had been the forerunners of the ruin of the late King. Notwithstanding the reform which William had made in the troops, he knew there were still some English corps disaffected to his service, and of the Scotch, in particular the royal regiment of dragoons, known at present by the name of the Scotch Greys, and Lord Dumbarton's regiment of foot, now the Royal Scotch. The last of these had been the favourite regiment of the late King, because it was both daring and obedient; and the officers and soldiers were at this time disgusted, because Lord Dumbarton had been dismissed from the command of it, and Marshal Schomberg put in his room. William, therefore, resolved to send over the disaffected

Mutiny of
Scottish re-
giments in
England.

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corps of both nations to Holland, in order to replace some of the Dutch troops, which, as more to be depended upon, he intended to keep with him in England. The regiments which were to be sent off, either hearing the intention, or from the consciousness of their own affections, suspecting the King's*, began to form a train of communication with each other, for assembling, and retiring northwards among the papists in the north of England, and to Scotland, whose parliament had not as yet declared for the new government. The emissaries of the late King, and still more their own discontents, insinuated to the English part of the mutineers, "That they, who were the only remains of the army who had continued faithful to their Sovereign, were now to be punished for that fidelity which is a principal point of honour among soldiers. The late King had indeed brought some of his own religion into his army; but he had not banished the native troops of England from their own country, and much less placed foreign ones in their stead to command that country with a foreign force." But the two Scotch regiments stormed aloud, "They were part of a free people, independent of the government of England and of its laws. Their national assembly had not as yet renounced allegiance to King James. By the laws of nations, they were not subject to the orders of any King, but of one acknowledged in Scotland, the King of their country. Their ancestors had transmitted the independence of their kingdom safe to them. It was their duty to convey it inviolated to posterity. They had arms, the marks and honours of freemen, in their hands: And, while they had these, to submit to suffer transportation like felons, was unworthy their own character, or that of their nation." With such discourses the soldiers and many of the officers having, during several days, animated each other; the soldiers at last called to their officers, "To lead them on, to advance the colours, and not to wait for the junction of their English friends; men flow in resolution, though brave against real, yet impotent from their continual fear of imaginary dangers; who, impatient of bearing hunger and long marches, could only serve to consume their provisions and

* Reresby, 337. Journ. H. Lords, March 15.

“retard their speed; who, amid their cups and feasts, would provide every thing, but, when called to the field in their Sovereign’s cause, would perform nothing.”

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No interval of time was to be perceived between exhorting, resolving, executing. All in an instant are in motion. While part are preparing for their march, others had already begun it. Some by orders, some without, and some in spite of them. They disarmed the few officers who opposed the sentiments of the rest. They seized the money provided for the pay of the regiments; and, with drums beating, colours flying, and four pieces of cannon, marched off from Ipswich, the intended place of their embarkation, to traverse one half of England peaceably, if they were not opposed, by force, if they were. The panic which they raised where-ever they came, and much more where they did not come, exhibited an example which England has often seen, but never believes, until the moment she sees it again, how weak against an attack in her own country is the wealthiest of nations, when her subjects believe that they have an interest against a standing army, and her Sovereigns are made to believe, that they have an interest against a national militia. William instantly * communicated this event to both houses of the legislature, informing them, that there were 1500 men in arms, with money to subsist them. Both houses, in an address, † termed the mutiny of the Scotch regiments a rebellion, and advised the King to issue a proclamation against the fugitives as traitors: The house of commons gave leave to all their members, who were officers of the army, to repair to their stations; and, the same day on which they received the King’s message, they hastened to vote the Dutch bill of charges in the cause of the revolution. The King dispatched General Ginkle ‡, with three regiments of dragoons, and a regiment of horse, to pursue the mutineers, and issued orders for the counties to obstruct and harass their march. The Scotch, upon intelligence of these things, took their way through

March 12.

The King informs the parliament of it.

The regiments surrender.

* Journals House of Commons, 15th March.

† The Lords, in their address, said, That there were other soldiers and traitorous persons in conspiracy with the Scotch regiments.

‡ Journals of the

House of Commons, March 16.

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the isle of Ely, with a view, in a fenny country, to avoid the attacks of cavalry. But, in their passage, they found the bridges and roads broken up, the trees felled across the highways, and the provisions of the country removed. Ginkle hung upon their rear. The militia prepared to oppose them in front. They learned, that their confederates in England, instead of imitating their example, were in motion to defend that cause which they had engaged to destroy. The common men began to lose their spirits: The officers, who believed that, in the punishment of a general mutiny, they would be selected to suffer for the faults which all had committed, insisted, that the whole body should die with their arms in their hands. The common men hesitated for some time upon the proposal; but, at last, inferring impunity from their obscurity, they refused to make use of an unavailing despair, and threw down their arms: All then surrendered at discretion. The King, in private, respected the spirit, and pardoned * the prejudices of the regiments, though he exclaimed in public against both: He removed a few of the officers, and inflicted no further punishment upon the regiment, than to take from them the power of doing mischief, by sending them to their original place of destination. Soon after, he transported the other disaffected troops likewise into Flanders: Politic contrivances, which turned that animosity of spirit against the enemies of Britain, which, if left to corrode at home, might have recoiled upon herself.

This produces the mutiny-act.

THIS mutiny produced a law, which made an important innovation in the English constitution, to wit, the act for punishing mutiny and desertion: A law which gave a legal sanction to the establishment of standing armies, which had been hitherto rather overlooked than acknowledged by parliament. This act, limited to the space of one year, has ever since been annually renewed; but, the renewal being almost considered as a matter of course, the form serves only to keep the people in mind that standing armies were deemed illegal by their ancestors.

* In the books of privy-council, 26 September 1689, there is a pardon to the officers.

The mutiny of the Scotch regiments made the deeper impresson in England, because it was thought to portend similar discontents in the rest of their countrymen: For that reason, all eyes became now intent upon the ensuing Scottish convention, which was to determine whether England and Scotland were to obey the same Sovereign, or if hostilities were to be renewed between the two countries, which had involved both in blood for six centuries.

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Of those who had offered their services to William, for the settlement of Scotland, three were eminent above the rest: The Duke of Hamilton, the Marquis of Athole, and Lord Stair. The Duke of Hamilton had disapproved of the measures of the late reign, but without publicly opposing them: He had observed the same cautious conduct with regard to the parties of his countrymen: He took advantage of his rank*, to attend none of those public cabals in which all party measures had been conducted in Scotland, from the time of the tables of the covenant; and, by that singularity, appeared to be of no party, at the time when he was dealing in private with all parties: Son of the illustrious house of Douglas, married to the heiress of the house of Hamilton, related to the royal family, and to most of the crowned heads of Europe, in succession in right of his wife to the crown of Scotland at a time when the antient families of Scotland were of importance in the scale of government, because they were of importance in their own country, his pre-eminence was seen by William, and perhaps feared. He had been intrusted with none of the secrets of the revolution from the ambiguity of his conduct. Yet he took a violent side against King James upon his first retreat, but made apologies † to that Prince's friends, so soon as he heard of his return. William, therefore, affected to shew him the highest honours, cajoling him by those arts, which the Duke was in use to employ upon others. From hence, and from the vanity of pre-eminence, he had consented to preside in the assembly at London, which offered the Prince the administration of government: And hence, William gave him all the influence of the court, to be president of that con-

Heads of-
party in Scot-
land on the
Prince's side.

* Lord Balcarras.

† Ibid.

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vention, which was to make the offer of government itself. The Marquis of Athole was a subject of great consequence, because his estate and power lay in the heart of the highlands. He had concurred in all the measures of the two royal brothers, and had been loaded with favours and honours by both. Yet, upon news of James's retreat, he flew, from restlessness of temper, more than from principle, to London, while Scotland was still in disquiet; resolved, amid contending Princes, to make the best terms for himself. He almost alone, of all those who went to London to offer their service to the Prince of Orange, returned home discontented; because his views had been too sanguine, and because he was ashamed of what he had done. His repentance he made offer of to the friends of James in Scotland, which was received, and thanked in public*, but in secret distrusted. Lord Stair had none of the external advantages of the other two. Yet, from great reach of thought, and thorough knowledge of men and parties, gained from experience, he came to be a considerable figure in party. He lost his estate in his youth, for killing the murderer of his father; and was obliged, upon that account, to fly from his country. When the civil war broke out, he returned to Scotland, and commanded a troop of dragoons in the parliament's service. After the death of Charles the First, he gave himself up entirely to the love of letters; but, weary of a life, in whose solitary charms he found not all the enjoyments he expected, he longed to be in the world again. He applied himself therefore, to the profession of the law, and was made a judge by Cromwell. Upon the restoration, he attached himself to the Duke of Lauderdale: the furies of that minister † he often moderated, and often opposed, openly when he could, secretly when he could not; yet still preserved his friendship: After enduring many years the loss of his rank and his country, from the injustice of the Duke of York, he, at the age of 70, assumed again his long-neglected sword and cuirass, and came over with the Prince of Orange, who was so fond of him, that he carried him ‡ in his own ship. The influence of Lord Stair in party was increased by that of his son Sir John Dalrymple, a man distinguished above all

* Lord Balcarras.

† Viscount of Stair's apology for himself.

‡ Crawford's peerage.

by the beauty of his person, and the power of his eloquence. To the wisdom and experience of the father, to the parts and shew of the son, rather than to the power of the Duke of Hamilton, William, certain that the two former could never hope to be pardoned by James, resolved to leave the management of Scotland in the end; but, in the mean time, to make advantage of the Duke's offers of service for the settlement of that country.

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1689.

Of all those nobles whom James, when Duke of York, had honoured with his friendship, and when King, graced with his favours, a few only continued openly in his interest: Of these the chief were the Duke of Gordon, a Roman catholic, to whom James had intrusted the castle of Edinburgh, a man weak, and wavering in courage; but bound by shame and religion; Lord Balcarras, attached by affection, gratitude, and that delicacy of sentiment which the love of letters commonly inspires; and Lord Dundee, who had for ever before his eyes ideas of glory, the duty of a soldier, and the example of the great Montrose, from whose family he was descended. James had intrusted the care of his civil concerns in Scotland to Balcarras, and of his military ones to Dundee. William asked both to enter into his service. Dundee refused without ceremony. Balcarras confessed the trust which had been put in him, and asked the King, If, after that, he could enter into the service of another? William generously answered, "I cannot say that you can" But added, "Take care that you fall not within the law; for otherwise I shall be forced against my will to let the law overtake you*." The other nobles of the late King's party waited for events, in hopes and in fears from the old government and the new, intriguing with both, and depended upon by neither.

On the side
of James.

NOR was the spirit of intrigue confined to the adherents of James; it affected equally † both parties, in a country far from the seat of government, upon that account exposed to uncertain ru-

Great spirit
of intrigue
in Scotland.

* MS. memoirs, written by the late Lord Balcarras.

† General M'Kay's MS. correspondence with Lord Portland and K. William.

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1689.

The Scotch
convention
meets, con-
sisting al-
most entire-
ly of whigs.

mours, and only beginning to feel its own importance, after it had long lost the idea of it: The nation distrusted the great, and the great each other. Even the most open attachments became suspicious, on account of the divisions in politics between fathers and their sons: For while the Duke of Queensberry, the Marquis of Athole, and Lord Arran, maintained connections with James; Lord Drumlanrig, Lord Murray, and the Duke of Hamilton, appeared violent in the service of his rival.

THE convention met on the 14th of March. As the governing part of the boroughs had been modelled by King James, the members sent up from thence should have been favourable to his interests. But Lord Stair *, whose views were extensive, had taken care, in the paper which contained the offer of administration to the Prince, to recommend that the borough-elections should be made by a general poll of the burgesses; an artifice which, while it took the blame of innovation off the Prince, prepared the way for securing the elections to the whigs and presbyterians. The parties at the convention first tried their strengths in the choice of a president. The Duke of Hamilton was set up by the new, the Marquis of Athole by the old court: A singular situation, where both candidates were distrusted, both by those who recommended, and by those who elected them. The former was preferred by 40 votes out of about 150 voters: A victory which, from the nature of the human mind, determined the wavering. A committee of elections was next named, consisting of nine whigs and three tories. Sir John Dalrymple, who was an able lawyer, found it easy to start objections to the returns of the opposite party, and to remove those which were made against his own. The committee in the house followed his opinions, because the necessity of the times was made the excuse of partiality. The Duke of Hamilton, respecting the dignity of his situation in the convention, refused his countenance to some of these proceedings, but in vain; for he was soon made sensible, that he was joined with a party which was resolved not to stand upon ceremony, when the public interest was at stake. Yet one instance of disinterestedness was respected even by those who blamed its intention. The Earl of Hume held most of his estate

* Lord Balcarras.

by a tenure which excluded a peer : Hence he had waved his privilege, and was returned as a commoner : But some objections being made to the forms of his election. " Well," said he, " if I am not permitted to give my voice in the cause of my country as a commoner, I will give it on a title to which nobody can object ;" crossed the hall, and took his seat on the Earl's bench *.

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1689.

WHEN the convention sat down, two letters were presented, one from the present, and another from the late King of England. The convention read both ; but first passed an act, that nothing contained in the last of them should dissolve their assembly, or stop their proceeding to the settlement of the nation. James's letter was written in the terms of a conqueror and a priest ; threatening the convention with punishment in this world, and damnation in the next : And, as it was countersigned by Lord Mellfort, a papist, and a minister abhorred by the presbyterians, the stile and the signature hurt equally the interest which the letter was intended to serve. No answer was given. William's letter, on the contrary, was answered in strains of gratitude and respect ; a distinction which sufficiently shewed what might be expected with regard to the future resolutions of the assembly. In order to give the greater mark of attention, Lord Ross was dispatched to London with the answer.

Letters from
the late and
present
King.

They answer
the latter, not
the former.

THE convention, then, with that impetuosity which makes part of the character of their nation, in the course of a few days, issued a proclamation, ordering all men, from sixteen to sixty, to be ready in arms when called for ; arrayed and armed the militias of the southern counties, and gave the command of them to those on whom they could rely ; levied troops, accepted the offers of zealous whigs to raise more, and imposed taxes for the support of both. Not contented with securing quiet within the kingdom, they made provision against attacks from without. They sent arms and ammunition to the protestants in the North of Ireland, who were mostly their countrymen ; and, upon a report, that an

Their vigor-
ous measures.

* Lord Balcarras.

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invasion was threatened from that kingdom, erected beacons on the high grounds, ordered the cattle to be driven from the coasts on sight of a fleet from thence, laid an embargo upon ships going there without their permission, and directed the sheriffs to seize all whom they found in arms without authority: The Duke of Hamilton was also empowered to secure *all suspected persons*; indefinite words, which conferred a dictatorial power upon him. With the same rapidity they approved the address made by their countrymen at London to the Prince of Orange; and named a committee for settling the government, of which the only person suspected by the whigs was the Marquis of Athole*.

Attempts
to disturb
the conven-
tion.

IN the mean time, Lord Balcarras and Lord Dundee endeavoured to interrupt the convention itself, since they could not stop its proceedings. They, for some time, prevented the Duke of Gordon from treating with the convention to surrender the castle; and, when he consented to a treaty, they contrived † to entangle him so much in adjusting the terms of it, that the convention proclaimed him a traitor, with all the forms of the heralds, under the walls of his own fortrefs. The Duke answered, with some spirit, "That the heralds ought not to proscribe the King's governor, with the King's livery on their shoulders." Balcarras, but still more Dundee, then urged him to fire upon the city, in order to dissolve the convention: And, when he refused, they formed a plan to distract the convention, by summoning a new one to meet at Stirling; an expedient which they, with the archbishop of Glasgow, by a special commission from James, had a power to make use of. And they prevailed upon Lord Marr, who was governor of the castle of Stirling, and the Marquis of Athole, to attend them in this service. But, when the day for quitting Edinburgh approached, these two Lords were seized with a terror which they had not felt when the danger was at a distance. The one asked a delay; the other divulged the secret, that he might not be obliged to ask one. Dundee, enraged at his enemies, and still more at his friends, resolved to retire to the highlands, and to make preparations for civil war,

* Balcarras Record of Scotch convention. Gazettes.

† Record of Scotch convention, March 15, 1689. Balcarras.

but with secrecy ; for he had been ordered by James to make no public insurrection until assistance should be sent him from Ireland *.

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WHILST Dundee was in this temper, information was brought him, whether true or false is uncertain, that some of the covenanters had associated themselves to assassinate him, in revenge for his former severities † against their party. He flew to the convention, and demanded justice. The Duke of Hamilton, who wished to get rid of a troublesome adversary, treated his complaint with neglect ; and, in order to sting him in the tenderest part, reflected upon that courage which could be alarmed by imaginary dangers. Dundee left the house in a rage, mounted his horse, and with a troop of 50 horsemen, who had deserted ‡ to him from his regiment in England, galloped through the city. Being asked by one of his friends, who stopt him, Where he was going? He waved his hat, and is reported to have answered, " Wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me." In passing under the walls of the castle, he stopt, scrambled up the precipice at a place difficult and dangerous, and held a conference with the Duke of Gordon, at a postern gate, the marks of which are still to be seen, though the gate itself is built up. Hoping, in vain, to infuse the vigour of his own spirit into the Duke, he pressed him to retire with him into the highlands, raise his vassals there, who were numerous, brave, and faithful, and leave the command of the castle to Winram the Lieutenant Governor, an officer on whom Dundee could rely. The Duke concealed his timidity under the excuse of a soldier. " A soldier," said he, " cannot in honour quit the post that is assigned him." The novelty of the sight drew numbers to the foot of the rock upon which the conference was held. These numbers every minute increased ; and, in the end, were mistaken in the city for Dundee's adherents. The convention was then sitting : News were carried thither, that Dundee was at the gates with an army, and had prevailed upon the governor of the castle to fire upon the town ||. The Duke of Hamilton, whose intelligence was better,

Dundee retires from the convention.

Use which the Duke of Hamilton makes of it

* Lord Balcarras. † General M^cKay's manuscript Memoirs, written by himself. ‡ Ibid. || Record of Scotch convention, March 8.

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had the presence of mind, by improving the moment of agitation, to overwhelm the one party, and provoke the other, by their fears. He ordered the doors of the house to be shut, and the keys to be laid on the table before him. He cried out, "There was danger within as well as without doors: That traitors must be held in confinement until the present danger was over: But that the friends of liberty had nothing to fear; for that thousands were ready to start up in their defence at the stamp of his foot." He ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound through the city. In an instant, vast swarms of those who had been brought into town, by him and Sir John Dalrymple, from the western counties, and who had been hitherto hid in garrets and cellars, shewed themselves in the streets, not indeed in proper habiliments of war, but in arms, and with looks fierce and sullen, as if they felt disdain at their former concealment. This unexpected sight increased the noise and tumult of the town, which grew loudest in the square adjoining to the house where the members were confined; and appeared still louder to those who were within, because they were ignorant of the cause from which the tumult arose, and caught contagion from the anxious looks of each other. After some hours, the doors were thrown open, and the whig-members, as they went out, were received with the acclamations, and those of the opposite party, with the threats and curses of a prepared populace. Terrified by the prospect of future alarms, many of the adherents of James quitted the convention, and retired to the country: More of them changed sides: Only a very few of the most resolute continued their attendance. *

A momentary difference of opinion in the convention.

The whig-party, thus left to themselves, proceeded to settle the government. A momentary difference in opinion arose in private: The Duke of Hamilton, because he was suspected, pressed with the more vehemence to settle the crown directly on William and Mary: Lord Stair and his son had long † thought that an union of the two kingdoms was the surest way to aggrandize both. With this view Lord Stair had got William to recommend that measure

* Balcarras. Gazette, April 1. Record of Scotch convention.

† Balcarras. Gazette, April 4.

strongly in his letter to the convention. And now he and his son, together with lord Tarbet, counselled their countrymen to make the settlement of the crown and the union of the kingdoms go hand in hand. To the whigs they argued, "That, in the present distressed and distracted state of England, Scotland would obtain better terms, than she could expect at any other period." To the friends of James, they got it suggested, "That the adjustment of the terms of the union would prolong the settlement of the crown; and that they ought to return to the convention, in order to embarrass that settlement by loading it with a project not dangerous to their party, because inextricable by the other." But the friends of James, having learnt from whence the suggestion came, avoided to give their concurrence on account of the suggesters; and the more keen presbyterians refused to listen to an union with a people who yielded to prelacy. Lord Stair and his son saw all the consequences of splitting their own party, and relinquished a project, which, at a more fortunate period, the last of these persons renewed with success.

THE revolution in England was brought about by a coalition of whigs and tories; but in Scotland by the whigs almost alone. Hence, the Scottish convention, instead of amusing themselves with school-disputes about words, which, while they discovered the fine lines of party in England, had embarrassed the English convention, struck their blow without ceremony, and came to a resolution, that King James had, by his evil deeds, *forfaulted* his right to the crown; a term which, in the language of the law of Scotland, involved in it the exclusion of all his posterity as well as his own. But, as this resolution would have comprehended the other children of James, as well as the young Prince, they agreed upon the following explanation of the word *forfaulted* *. "Agreed, that the word *forfault*, in the resolution, should imply no other alteration in the succession to the crown, than the seclusion of King James, the pretended Prince of Wales, and the children that shall be procreated of either of their bodies." Only five opposed these resolutions. One of the five was Sir George M'Kenzie, who had been removed

The convention declares James forfeited.

* Record of Scotch convention, 4th April.

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And settle
the crown
on William
and Mary;

and make
their decla-
ration of
rights more
comprehen-
sive than
that of Eng-
land.

Letters from
Lord Mell-
fort inter-
cepted.

from the station of Lord Advocate, when Sir John Dalrymple was placed in it by Lord Sunderland. Sir John Dalrymple concluded the debate with a force and a splendor of eloquence, the fame of which is lively to this day among the aged in Scotland; exhibiting an example to Kings, either not to trample upon their subjects, or not to put themselves afterwards in their power.

THE convention next made offer of the crown to William and Mary: A vote in which the Duke of Queensberry and the Marquis of Athole concurred, although they had refused to be present at the other. They reconciled their conduct by saying, "That, since the throne was declared vacant by the nation, they knew none so worthy to fill it as the Prince and Princess of Orange:" A mixture of sentiment, intended to please both Kings, but which, like most compliments of the kind, pleased neither. From an excess of zeal which betrayed the cause of it, the Duke of Hamilton demeaned himself to act the part of a clerk; reading, at the ordinary place of proclamation, the act of convention aloud to the mean multitude, who found even their own vanity hurt in the sacrifice which was made to it by the first man in the nation*. With more dignity the parliament accompanied the offer of the crown with such a declaration of rights, as laid open all the invasions upon the constitution, not of the late King alone, but of his brother, and ascertained every disputed pretension between the crown and the subject: For, accustomed either to trample upon their sovereigns, or to be trampled upon by them, the Scottish nation chose to leave nothing to be adjusted afterwards by the vibration between the executive and legislative powers, which had kept the English constitution almost continually in a just medium, between the imperiousness of the crown and the licentiousness of the subject. The Earl of Argyle for the peers, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple for the boroughs, were sent to London with the offer of the crown.

AFTER this sentence of forfeiture against so great a part of the Scottish royal line, a sudden damp struck many of those who had

* Lord Balcarras.

pronounced it, in a nation accustomed to servility during the last forty years, and scarcely daring to feel itself free. But some letters intercepted from Lord Mellfort suspended all returns of pity to James: In one of these to Lord Dundee, Mellfort said, "You will ask no doubt how we shall be able to pay our armies: But can you ask such a question while our enemies, the rebels, have estates to be forfeited? We will begin with the great, and end with the small ones." Another to Lord Balcarras contained these words: "The estates of the rebels will recompense us. You know there were several Lords whom we marked out, when you and I were together, who deserved no better fates; these will serve as examples to others." Words the more alarming, because the persons alluded to were not named: Hence, great terrors were felt by many, and pretended to be felt by more: The whig-party assumed merit, because they were the objects of these threats: individuals entering into competitions concerning the degrees of the dangers they were exposed to, and the Duke of Hamilton claiming pre-eminence beyond all others. Nor were sundry of the adherents of James without their anxieties: For the consciousness even of defection in their hearts, when it had not appeared in their deeds, alarmed them secretly with suspicions, lest their looks had been studied, and their domestic conversations betrayed. After the letters were read to the convention, the Duke of Hamilton, president of the assembly, rising up, cried out with an impetuous voice, "You hear, you hear, my Lords and Gentlemen, our sentence pronounced. We must take our choice, to die, or to defend ourselves." Words more persuasive than the most artificial rhetoric *.

JAMES was not more lessened in the eyes of the Scotch by these letters, than his rival was raised by an accident which happened at his taking the coronation oath. The administration of the coro-

William's
behaviour at
taking the
coronation-
oath.

* The adherents of the Stuart family have always maintained, that these letters were forgeries. It is plain from the printed memoirs of Lord Balcarras, that he believed them to be authentic. I have consulted the books of privy-council and the records of convention to get light; but can find none.

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nation-oath of Scotland was a ceremony attended with much awe; the King holding up his right hand high, whilst he swore, and repeating each word with slowness after the person who read it. It contained a clause, that the King should root out heretics. At these words, William stopt the Earl of Argyle, who was administering the oath, and declared, he did not mean to oblige himself to become a persecutor. The commissioners answering, that such was not the meaning of the oath: "Then," said the King, "I take it in that sense only." Whether this scruple was the effect of affectation or of delicacy is immaterial: It became a King, and it pleased the people.

The panic of
a massacre
arises in Ire-
land.

WHILST these events in England and Scotland were the result of designs deeply laid and ably conducted, their effects in Ireland were in a great measure committed to chance. The pains which Lord Tyrconnel had long bestowed in modelling his army, the known violence of his temper, the insolence of the Roman catholics in prosperity, some indiscreet expressions which had fallen from their priests*, the more alarming from the low condition of the men who uttered them, and above all, the custom, almost habitual to the Irish protestants, of seeing Irish massacres in imagination, had, in the month of November, spread the panic of a massacre amongst all the protestants of the north. Even the particular day, the 9th of December, was believed to have been fixed for execution. Whence the rumour originally took its rise, no one could tell: For there was no distinguishing what fear only suggested, from what had been invented or repeated. After the rumour had been propagated for some weeks with a secret horror, it, at length, upon the 3d of December, blazed suddenly forth in the county of Down. Lord Mount-Alexander, upon that day, received an anonymous letter, warning him to provide for his safety. The letter was written, as appeared from its stile†, by one of the lowest of the people. Nothing appeared to confirm the tidings it bore. But, for that very reason, all were struck with the deeper panic. They reasoned, "How deep and how well-laid must a scheme be, of which

* M'Kenzie, p. 3. and 48.

† Ibid. p. 3.

"we are unable to discover even the traces." All inquiry was drowned in the cries of women and children. The letter was everywhere received as an indisputable proof of the truth of the general report. It was sent instantly*, by expresses, to the neighbouring towns, and to Dublin; and from Dublin it was communicated to all parts of the kingdom.

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DURING this ferment, twelve popish companies, amounting to full 1200 men, were sent to take quarters in the protestant town of Londonderry. By accident, no previous intimation of their destination had been sent to the town. Three days before the time, which was imagined to have been fixed for the massacre, the troops rested at Newton Limaviday, a village half a day's march from Londonderry. Tyrconnel, from the facility of finding recruits in a country full of people, and fond of war, had raised several regiments of men who were six feet high†: The soldiers of these twelve companies were of that stature. A huge troop of women and children followed them; as was the custom of a social and idle people. In the tumult of quartering, some disorders were committed by the soldiers. The inhabitants complained‡ to Mr. Philips, the proprietor of the village, and their passions exaggerated the objects of their complaints. As it is natural for the human mind to be inflamed by those who appear inflamed themselves, the imagination of Mr. Philips increased the importance of the circumstances that were related to him. He immediately sent an express, in the night-time, with a letter|| to the inhabitants of Londonderry, which described the appearance and manners of the men, and informed them of his suspicions, that they were destined for their destruction: A short time before, another express had been dispatched for that town§ from Belfast, with a copy of the anonymous letter which Lord Mount-Alexander had received. Upon the arrival of this last messenger, who came in the evening, a report spread through the town, that he brought bad news; but, as nobody could learn what these were, a fear, heightened by uncertainty, seized all. Next morning, whilst the people were convened to hear the con-

Revolt of
Londonderry,
and manner of it.

* M'Kenzie, p. 3.

† Ibid. p. 2.

‡ Walker, p. 7.

|| Ibid.

§ Ibid.

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1689.

tents of Lord Mount-Alexander's letter, the messenger from Mr. Philips arrived *. So that the two letters were read almost together. Immediately after, successive informations were communicated to those who were in the more distant parts of the assembly, and by them instantly spread through the rest, that the troops were preparing to march, had marched, were approaching, and that officers were arrived to demand admittance for the corps which followed them. The graver citizens, and those of better ranks, accounting resistance vain †, declared their opinions for admitting the troops. But the younger part of the assembly, and those of meaner condition, whose passions, both from nature and habit, are always violent, cried out, "The very stature of the men, the fulness of the companies, shewed they were intended for some deadly purpose. Their women and children followed, in expectation of finding that pleasure in plunder, which their husbands and fathers were to enjoy in blood." While this dispute was carrying on, the troops had halted within sight of the town, to wait for the return of their officers: And, at length, becoming tired with waiting, and irritated by the affront of delay, they marched up to the town. But, when they came within an hundred yards of the walls, nine youths ‡ rushed forth from their companions, pulled up the draw-bridge, shut the gates, and drew the bars. Animated at the sight of the action, others flew to seize the guard-room, to break open the magazine, to distribute the arms: The rest promiscuously commanding and commanded, placed centinels on the walls, pointed what miserable cannon they found there, and returned a defiance. On the behaviour of these nine youths turned the fate of Ireland, and perhaps of King James; and therefore their service is the more worthy of commemoration.

The revolt
spreads thro'
Ulster.

ROUSED by this example, the inhabitants of Inniskilling, a few days after, rose against their magistrates, refused admittance to Tyrconnel's troops, and wrote § to the inhabitants of Londonderry, proposing mutual assistance for mutual defence. The spirit of resistance in these two towns was, in a few days, communicated to

* M'Kenzie, p. 3.

† Walker, p. 7. M'Kenzie, p. 4.

‡ Ib. p. 4.

§ Ibid. p. 45. and 49.

all the protestant inhabitants of the northern counties. In the province of Ulster, the people of the counties of Down, Antrim, Ardmagh, Moneghan, Derry, Donnegal, and Tyrrhone, assembled separately*, chose each a general, and a council for the defence of each separate county, and appointed a general council of union at Hillsborough, for the common interest of all. These councils raised regiments, made other preparations for defence, and wrote secretly to England to implore protection from the Prince of Orange.

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BUT, while the Prince was observing wise and provident measures for the settlement of England and Scotland, he left Ireland entirely neglected. He would scarce listen † to the accounts brought from that country, or see those who brought them. He received with coldness all schemes for the speedy relief of the protestant interest there. He sent no troops from England into Ireland. Instead of stationing any part of the English fleet to guard and overawe that kingdom, he laid it up under Lord Dartmouth in the Medway; not daring either to trust him with the charge of the fleet, or to discover his distrust of him, by giving it to another. And, instead of taking any soothing measures to gain Tyrconnel, the Lord Lieutenant, to his interest, or vigorous ones to frighten him from asserting those of James, he contented himself with sending over Colonel Hamilton, one of Tyrconnel's friends, the same man who had attended James in his barge to Rochester, to summon Tyrconnel to submit to the present administration. Hamilton betrayed his trust, and advised him to refuse obedience. Tyrconnel remained long in suspense between his hopes and his fears from both princes, and perhaps not without some views, from the irregularity of his ambition, of erecting an establishment for himself, independent of both. His uncertainty was increased by his receiving no orders from James, whose letters were either intercepted, or who neglected Ireland, like the Prince. During this period Tyrconnel amused the Prince with promises, but still avoided to fulfil them. At length James having, upon the 12th of January, wrote him a letter, in which he promised to land soon in Ireland.

The Prince of Orange's neglect of Ireland.

Tyrconnel amuses him.

* M'Kenzie, p. 11.

† Clarendon's Diary, passim.

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but prepares
to defend
Ireland.State of Ire-
land.

with a great French force, his resolutions became fixed. But still pretending a conflict between the duties of a citizen, and the honour of a soldier, he declared his opinion to the chief men of the protestant party, that Ireland ought to be surrendered, but that he could not do it without that Prince's permission who had committed the charge of it to him; and sent Lord Mountjoy, who was looked upon as the head of the protestant interest, to James, to satisfy him, that Ireland was incapable of defence: A stratagem which both gained time, and freed Tyrconnel from a troublesome opponent. Mountjoy had no sooner departed, than Tyrconnel gave orders for raising twenty new popish regiments, of 1000 men each; and, when Mountjoy arrived in Paris, he was immediately committed to the Bastile.

WHILST there were doubts of Tyrconnel's intentions, the protestants, uncertain of events in England, and discouraged by the inattention of the Prince of Orange, assumed a similar ambiguity of conduct. The northern counties published declarations, that their associations were only intended in self-defence against the dangers of a massacre. The inhabitants of Londonderry * wrote apologies for what had passed, to be communicated to Tyrconnel, and even to be sent into England. They published a declaration † full of loyalty to King James before they knew he had retired, praying for long dominion to a Prince who had already resigned it.

BUT, when they heard of Lord Mountjoy's fate, saw new popish regiments raising every where, and understood that most of the commissions were given to officers ‡ who agreed to ask no pay for their men; a declaration that their subsistence was to arise from the miseries of their opponents; the parties of protestants and papists declared a-new, and openly, their mutual jealousies: The one expressed their suspicions lest former cruelties should be repeated; the other were conscious of merited revenge for late injuries; and both ‡ of them gave and received terrors by turns. Many of the rich,

* M'Kenzie, page 18.
M'Kenzie, page 10,

† Walker, p. 41.

‡ Walker, page 9.

and of the weaker sex, removed * their persons and their effects to strong places, and into Scotland and England. The † sight of their own numbers, when they met in these places, or on the shores, increased, by the contagion of sympathy, the fear which each individual had brought along with him. But the minds of those who remained at home were still more agitated: For, in several towns, agreements ‡ were made to receive garrisons composed equally of the forces of each party: A state of neutrality full of suspense and of jealousy, and even more dreadful to the garrisons, and to the towns possessed by them, than all the sufferings of actual war.

THE Prince's neglect of Ireland was variously accounted for: Those who looked for political views in all his measures, imputed it to an opinion which Lord Hallifax had suggested, that nothing could impel the English so much to a speedy settlement of England, as a prospect of the unsettled condition of Ireland. Those who saw only malignant ends in all his actions, exclaimed, after his advancement to the throne, "That he had encouraged the Irish to rebel, "in order to procure an opportunity of enriching, by their forfeitures, the followers of his fortunes." But people who judged with less refinement, and therefore probably with more truth, drew apologies for the Prince's conduct, from the credit which he gave to the assurances of Tyrconnel, his own opinion that the provinces of England would easily follow the fate of the kingdom to which they belonged, the disgrace which an unsuccessful attempt might bring upon his new administration, and perhaps some distrust of seamen and soldiers who had so lately shown so little steadiness to their own master. Sir William Temple's son, secretary at war, who had engaged to the Prince for the fidelity and success of Colonel Hamilton, thought it his duty, some time after, by a voluntary death to take the blame off the Prince, and throw it upon himself: A young gentleman of the finest accomplishments, happy in the possession of a woman he loved, and in high prosperity! He left

Causes of the
Prince's ne-
glect of
Ireland.

Mr. Tem-
ple's volun-
tary death
to vindicate
his master.

* Gazette, March 6, and April 20. † Judge Keeling's letter in Archbishop King, page 347. ‡ M'Kenzie, p. 9.

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behind him a note to this purpose: "My own imprudence in the
" Prince's service, and the hurt I have done it, are the causes of my
" death. I wish him success in all his undertakings, and a better
" servant than I have proved *." A fate which, amid the great
convulsions of state, recalled the minds of men to the delicacies of
honour, and to the tender feelings of nature.

* Clarendon's Diary, April 19. Reresby, 46.

PART II.
BOOK I.

1690.

PART II.

BOOK I.

STATE of Parties.——Of Holland.——Of Parliament.——Of the Court.——Opposition in Parliament.——The Whigs attack the Tories.——The King's Arts to remove Opposition.——Parsimony of Parliament.——It hurts public Credit.——The King's grand Scheme for composing Differences disappointed——Causes of this Disappointment.——His Breach with the Church.——Declaration of War against France.

PART II.
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WILLIAM was scarcely seated upon the throne, when he experienced the truth of a well-known maxim, That crowns are encircled with thorns. The adherents of the late King exclaimed, "That the Prince of Orange had, under pretence of preserving the constitution, overturned it, broken faith with the nation, and trampled upon the laws of God and of man." William's success, since his arrival in England, had been so rapid, that many of the Tories, who had, in the torrent of national sympathy, concurred in placing the crown upon his head, scarcely recollected till now, that they had, by their own votes, not only dethroned King

State of parties.

James, but preferred the two Princesses, the Prince of Orange, and their issue, to his son; and * pretended they had only not opposed, rather than confessed they had promoted, events which they had not originally foreseen. Most of the church were obliged, from pride, and a regard to consistency of character, to appear discontented with the elevation of the Prince; seeing there were few clergymen who had not, in the pulpit, or in their writings, or in conversation, inveighed against the right of the subject to infringe the succession to the crown upon any account whatever. The calvinistical tenets, in which the Prince had been educated, the great number of dissenters who attended him into England, the still greater numbers which were seen plying at court, and the indiscretion of both in accounting his victories to be their own, added the impulses of jealousy to those of honour in the minds of the clergy. Of the seven bishops who had been persecuted by King James, only one, Lloyd of St. Asaph, waited on the new King, or took the oaths to his government. When Queen Mary sent to ask Sancroft's blessing, his answer was, "That she must ask her father's, for his would not otherwise be heard in heaven." Even the ablest men act more from past impressions, than from foresight: The Prince had been accustomed, from his youth, to consider the dissenters as the friends of his family and country, and the church to be attached to those Princes who were enemies to both: As soon therefore as he discovered the coldness of the clergy, it excited his resentment, or such a degree of distrust and reserve, as the jealousy of party construed into resentment. From the past services of the whigs, the King flattered himself with their future compliance with his will: But, fearing the loss of their popularity, they resolved to continue that jealousy of the crown which their party had always entertained, and which they were now ashamed to relinquish.

THE King was teased by the humours, as well as by the parties of his new subjects: The number of the great, who had ventured their lives and fortunes in the cause of the revolution, or whom it was of consequence to conciliate to it, was so considerable,

* Sir John Reresby and Clarendon's Diary, passim.

that it became impossible to gratify the expectations of the former, or to hold out sufficient temptations to the latter. Hence some of them complained of the King's ingratitude, and others of his neglect. Those who formed their sentiments of regard or aversion upon manner, were disgusted with that of the King. His natural inattention and reserve, which arose partly from the extensive foreign projects that were continually rolling in his thoughts, and partly from a thorough conviction of the selfishness of individuals who approached him, prevented his gaining those persons by complaisance, who could not be gained by favours, or upon whom he had not favours to bestow. The number of the discontented was increased by the return of pity, felt by some in a stronger, by others in a weaker degree, but felt by most in some degree, for the fate of the late King. Among the lower ranks of the nation, a national characteristic of the English instantly appeared. The populace of London took offence at the looks, the dress, and language of the Dutch troops; fancying all these to be ugly and mean, merely because their eyes and ears had not been accustomed to them. They despised the modest air and parsimonious manners of the Dutch officers; they insulted the soldiers. All popular passions are contagious; even some who were of a rank * which should have elevated them above assuming the ideas of the populace, were betrayed into similar sentiments. The foreigners were at first uncertain what to think of such treatment, from men who had invited them into their country, and who stiled them their deliverers; but at last, imputing it to national caprice or disease, they overlooked, or pretended to overlook it: A conduct which, whilst it commanded the respect of the brave and the wise, made the abject and the weak imagine, that persons who could bear such contumelies, deserved to suffer them.

WILLIAM had not the resources enjoyed by succeeding princes to overcome his difficulties. The revenues of the state would appear inconsiderable, and the offices of government, of arms, and of revenue, few in number, and small in profit, should we compare them to those of the present times. Besides, men of family had, at that time, as much pride in living frugally, and bestowing attention

* Sir John Reresby, page 319. et passim.

upon their private affairs, as their posterity have now in disregard-
ing both. Hence the dependence upon government was slight,
and individuals were left at liberty to follow their own principles, pre-
judices, and caprices.

State of Hol-
land.

AMIDST the pomp of royalty, William found his happiness poison-
ed from a quarter which he little suspected: His Dutch became as dis-
contented as his English subjects. The French, in his absence, hav-
ing declared war against Holland, his own enemies and those of his
family exclaimed, "That while, for his own security, he kept the
" Dutch army so long in England, he left his country exposed to the
" vengeance of France; and that he detained their fleet with an
" intention to join it to that of the English, and to use both in op-
" pressing the liberties of Holland, at a time when she was defence-
" less within, and threatened by a foreign enemy from without." Even the more moderate lamented, "That William's absence from
" Holland, and the attention to his duties as the King of another
" country, could not fail to draw off his mind from those which he
" owed to them as their Stadtholder." The rivalry and pride of
nations arose in the minds of the Dutch. The popular cry was,
"That Holland must expect to be no more, for the future, than
" an appendage to England." William, who was attached to his
countrymen with all the passion of a lover, felt how dearly a Prince
pays for the dominion of another country, who runs a risk of losing
the estimation of his own.

BUT, against all these difficulties, William hoped to derive secu-
rity from his own spirit, from possession, from that love of liberty
which is natural to the English, and, above all from their hereditary
hatred of the people who had given refuge to his rival: For he,
who had been all his life employed in managing the parties of a
free state, well knew, that popular governments are conducted as
often by the imaginations as by the interests of the people, and
not more by the principles of union than by those of antipathy:
He, therefore, placed his chief security in the popular opinion, that
his own support was necessarily connected with the humiliation,
and that of the late King with the exaltation, of the natural enemy
of England.

THE state of the convention, however, appeared to be a fortunate circumstance for the King. Although, in the heat of the whig-victory, the members returned to the house of commons were the most violent of that party, and therefore naturally inclined to circumscribe the power of the crown; yet, old and recent injuries, the consciousness that they could never be forgiven by the late King, and their pleasure in having obtained the declaration of rights; all determined them to maintain the settlement of the crown itself. In the house of Lords, which, from former connections, was expected to retain prejudices for the abdicated family, the aversion of nobles to republican principles, with their own principle, that the power of the crown should be supported, whoever wore it, but still more, the terror of many, lest they should be called to account for their concurrence with royal measures in the two late reigns, gave hopes that the rights of the crown would be maintained even by those who had scruples about the King's title. The exclusion of the popish Lords, the absence of several non-juring bishops and peers, the flight of some of James's servants into France with their master, and the imprisonment of others by the great council, or by the convention, were circumstances which justified these hopes; because they had removed from the house of Lords almost all the partisans of the late King. Hence a most extraordinary state of party appeared in this parliament, as long as it sat. For the assembly of commons, which had put the crown on William's head, opposed, and the assembly of Lords, which had endeavoured to keep it off, supported most of his measures.

PART II.

BOOK I.

1689.

State of parliament.

IN a country where the laws declare, that the King's ministers are responsible for his faults, all eyes were intent upon the choice which the King was to make of his ministry; and, for that reason, he was embarrassed. To mix whigs and tories together, men suspecting and suspected, hating and hated by each other, was full of difficulties. To trust his service to the tories alone, many of whom seemed averse to his title, appeared dangerous. To trust it to the whigs alone, was to declare himself the head of a party, and given countenance to a suspicion, that he intended to govern by those who had chiefly raised himself to government, and to

State of the court.

proscribe all others from views of ambition. Gratitude, or rather the shame of appearing ungrateful, prevailed with William: He threw almost all power into the hands of the whigs, Lord Nottingham being almost the only notorious opposer of the King's elevation who was brought into administration. He and Lord Shrewsbury were appointed secretaries of state; the one from the remembrance of past, the other partly from views of future services, and partly to pay a compliment to the high-church party, with which he was connected. Upon the promotion of Nottingham, the tories complained, they were all excluded from the participation of power, except one; and the whigs, that even one was admitted. By strange reverses of fortune, Burnet, who had been proscribed by the late King for libelling him, was made a bishop, and Sir Patience Ward was chose one of the representatives in parliament, and * Pykington Lord Mayor of that city, in which the one had been pilloried, and in which the other had been fined £. 100,000, for an offence similar to that of Burnet against the Duke of York. The Archbishop of Canterbury was put upon the list of the privy-council, less from attention to him than to his order. The privy seal, which had been taken from Hallifax in the late reign, was restored to him, and Lord Danby placed at the head of the council board; arrangements which pleased neither the whigs nor the tories; not the former, because these Lords had formerly humbled the whig cause; not the latter, because they had lately overturned the tory one. But Danby, who wished for his old staff of Lord treasurer, thought his services ill requited; and, to make him reparation, he was created Marquis of Caermarthen. In order to make room for such persons as had real merit in promoting the revolution, or whose pretensions to merit it was thought prudent to admit, the treasury, the admiralty, and even the chancery, were put into commission. But the expedient was disobliging even to some of the persons who were honoured: For Lord Mordaunt and Admiral Herbert, the one in the treasury, the other in the Admiralty, complained they only presided, where they ought to have sitten alone. By some unaccountable accident in the arrangement of places, Lord Godolphin, who had been at the head of the

* Gazette, March 22.

treasury in the reign of Charles the Second, and reduced to be chamberlain to the Queen upon the succession of that Prince's brother, was appointed to no higher station than that of a commissioner at the treasury-board. But what pleased all, was the nomination of the judges: Each privy-counsellor was directed to bring in a list of twelve; and, from these lists, the judges were selected; all men of ability, and, which was no less material for imprinting due reverence for law, in a nation governed by laws and not by will, men of dignity and popularity. Military preferments were given to Lord Churchill, but not suited either to his ambition or to his avarice. No notice was taken of his lady; she continued as usual in the family of the Princess Anne: A situation seemingly of small consequence, but which, for that very reason, her pride and her spirit of intrigue determined her to convert into a great one. Lord Sunderland was, by the voice of all, excluded from every department of government; by some, because he had served King James; by others, because he had betrayed him; and by a few, lest they might appear to have been the partners of his treachery.

But, though Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Hallifax, and Danby, appeared the public ministers of government, the King in secret put his real confidence in friends more antiently and more sincerely attached to him: and chiefly in Mr. Sidney, and in Bentinck, a native of Holland, the first of whom he created Lord Sidney, and the last Lord Portland. Nottingham, Hallifax, and Danby, imputing the want of the King's confidence to jealousies instilled into him by each other, embarrassed him by their mutual complaints, and his affairs by thwarting one another. Nottingham, however, made use of that advantage, which singularity of situation gives to every man of address: Under the pretence of making his sovereign acquainted with the detail of a constitution, to which it was no offence to suppose him a stranger*, he furnished William with a list of all the prerogatives of the crown, with their dependencies on each other; an artifice† by which he intended to alienate the King's mind from that whig-party which had been accustomed to oppose the interests of prerogative: And to the lessons of Nottingham, William

* Burnet, 2. p. 3. & 14.

† Burnet, 2. p. 3.

willingly listened, from a vanity to preserve that constitution unimpaired, which had been committed to his care; and, perhaps, also from the love of that power which men who cannot submit to others are the fondest to possess. But Hallifax and Danby, discontented with their situation, and believing all others to be as discontented as themselves, preserved measures, and formed connections with the adherents of the old court; insinuating to their own friends, that it was a prudent thing in others to follow their example. Sir John Reresby relates, in his Memoirs, that Lord Hallifax and Lord Danby said to him, the one, "That wise men must not venture too far;" and the other, "That, if King James would quit his priests, he might still retrieve his affairs." When such men said such things, the allurements of a court were thrown out to others in vain. Many looked * aside towards the old, at the very time they were receiving favours from the new establishment. Hallifax even † avoided the titles and ribbons which others solicited, lest honours conferred by one prince should be turned into disgraces by another. In this situation, the true lovers of their country saw, with foreboding minds, that all national exertions must be weak, loose, and disappointed, if not betrayed.

An opposition raised in parliament.

THE effects of this disunion in the nation, and in the King's councils, appeared in an opposition to the first measure which he proposed. Trusting more to the compliance of the Lords, than to that of the commons, he had recommended to some peers to carry through the house of Lords a bill which had been framed in council for converting the convention into a parliament: They obeyed, and the bill passed their house ‡ without opposition. But, when they sent it to the commons on the fourth day after William was proclaimed, a violent opposition, headed by Sir Edward Seymour, was made, under pretence, that a parliament could not assemble without the King's writ; and that, as the present convention had been called before the Prince of Orange received the crown, it was incapable of being converted into a parliament. The dispute appeared on first view to regard forms only: But some of

* Clarendon's Diary, and Reresby, passim.

‡ Journal of the House of Lords 23d February.

† Reresby, 349.

the tories meant to bring into doubt the King's title, by attacking the validity of that assembly which had conferred it; and others had in view, if a new parliament was called, to recover that superiority in elections, which the whigs, in the first ferments upon the Prince of Orange's arrival, had obtained over them. However, the interests of individuals prevailed over those of party in most of the tories. They knew, that a new election must be attended with a new expence to themselves; they deserted Seymour in his opposition, and the convention was converted into a parliament. Upon this, many persons of discontented tempers, or who were attached to the late King, avoided to attend in parliament any longer.

PART II.
BOOK I.

1689.

Feb. 13.

AN attack from the tories could be no great surprise to William; but he soon met with a succession of chagrines, from that whig-party which had placed him upon the throne. The chief objects of government, both in their own importance, and in the King's mind, were the support of Holland, attacked at that time by France, the reduction of Ireland, and the settlement of a revenue upon himself. And therefore, in the first speech which he made to the convention after he was proclaimed, he had recommended these capital objects to consideration: But he couched the last of them under the general expression of "A settlement at home." Instead of proceeding, however, as he wished, the commons, three days after, voted *, that the King should be desired to bestow a donative upon the foreign forces which were to leave the kingdom: An insinuation as plain as could be decently given, that their presence was no longer agreeable. And the same day, they began to make inquiries into the faults of the two late reigns, by ordering accounts to be made up, of the money expended upon prosecutions and secret services during that period. Soon after † they ranged the malversations of these reigns under seven different heads, and appointed a committee to inquire who had committed them. They named another ‡ to prepare accusations, as they should think proper, against those adherents of the late King who were al-

and chiefly
by the whigs.

The whigs
begin their
attacks upon
the tories.

* Journals House of Commons, Feb. 21.
March 6.

† Ibid. March 5.

‡ Ibid.

ready in custody. And, to incite private persons to ask redress for the injuries they had suffered, they appointed a third to receive their complaints. Votes, by which, in the course of a few days, one half of the nation seemed to be set in battle-array against the other.

King's arts
to remove
opposition.

He informs
parliament,
that James is
failed.

BUT, an opportunity presenting itself, for suspending the mutual animosities of parties, by means of their greater passion against a common enemy, the King embraced it. Having received intelligence, that the late King had sailed from Brest for Ireland, he communicated the news immediately to parliament; and taking advantage of a circumstance, that James had with him a few French officers, added, that the invasion was supported by a French force. At the sound of the words, *French force*, all domestic animosity seemed in an instant to cease, and each vied with his neighbour, in manifesting zeal for the new government, and rage against that foreign power which was attempting to overturn it; some being actuated by sincerity, and others by a desire to conceal the want of it. But the former were, by far, the most numerous. For, in the restoration of King James, all the whigs dreaded punishment for what they had done, and most of the tories, for what they had neglected to do. Many of this last party, who held the rights of James's son to be sacred, were averse to his own person. Others, who disliked the present King, were still more averse to receive another from France. And all trembled at the brink of the precipice, when they beheld before them the horrors of civil war, and the more dreadful horrors of revenge after it, which ever side should prevail. Both houses, therefore, unanimously resolved to make an offer of their lives and fortunes to the King: And, to make the offer more solemn, both waited upon him, when their address was presented. The city of London thanked the houses for what they had done. The King's answer to the address was such as only an English prince can use to an English parliament. In raising the dignity of the people, it raised that of the person who was placed at their head: "I assure you," said he, "I will never abuse the confidence you shall put in me; being fully persuaded, that there is no sure foundation of a good agreement be-

"tween a king and his people, but a mutual trust: When that is
"once broken, a government is half dissolved: It shall, therefore,
"be my chief care never to give any parliament cause to distrust
"me; and the best method I can chuse for that purpose, is never
"to expect any thing from them, but what it shall be their own in-
"terest to grant." In the same answer, taking advantage of the zeal
manifested in the address, he urged the parliament to hasten the pre-
parations for war, the payment of the Dutch charges in the cause of
the revolution, and the settlement of the revenue, which he now
called by its proper name. To reduce Ireland, he demanded
20,000 men: For the marine service, he said, a powerful fleet was
necessary to be joined to the Dutch fleet, in order to guard the seas
against France. His words, when he mentioned the Dutch, were
pointed and strong, partly with the view of recovering his popu-
larity among his countrymen, and partly from sentiment. "The
Dutch, he said, "had neglected their own safety, to relieve
"England from the extremity she was under. By this service they
"had drawn inevitable destruction upon themselves, unless it was
"now repaid: The ruin of Holland was, by her enemies, intended
"as a step to that of England. They have really," continued he,
"exhausted themselves to a degree which is not easily to be imagin-
"ed; and I am confident your generosity towards them will have
"as little bounds, as theirs had towards you."

WILLIAM, about the same time, took other wise measures
to gain the affections of his people. He sent a message to the com-
mons, in which he desired, That, in settling the revenue, they
would either take away, or regulate the tax of hearth-money; a
tax which produced 200,000 pounds a year; but which, because
the officers of the revenue, in levying it, were at liberty to enter
private houses when they pleased, was deemed inconsistent with the
honours of English liberty. Yet even the popularity of this of-
fer was made the subject of party-division in parliament*. The
whigs insisted to relieve the people; the tories contended, that
their burden should be continued, under the pretence, that the

Desires
hearth-mo-
ney to be
abolished.

* Journals of the House of Commons, March 5th. Burnet, 2. pag. 13.

PART II.
BOOK I.

1689.

hearth-money was a surer fund, upon which money could be borrowed, than any other; but, in reality, with a view to disappoint the King of the credit of the measure. All free nations are generous and affectionate, at least for a season; but the English above all others. The people had been accustomed to see their Princes pressing taxes upon them, instead of removing taxes; and were sensibly affected with this well-timed generosity of their new sovereign. In the end, both houses of parliament presented an address of thanks to the King; and the city of London followed the example.

Makes an
apology for
seizing sus-
pected per-
sons.
March 1.

THE King took another opportunity to discover his attention to the interests of liberty. Having caused some persons to be seized upon treasonable suspicions, he sent information of what he had done to the house of Lords, using these expressions: "That, being
" extremely tender of doing any thing which the law did not fully
" warrant, he had acquainted their Lordships with what he had
" thought himself under a necessity of doing, for the public peace
" and security of the government." In a monarchy, to revere the laws, is to respect the people: Both houses joined in an address of thanks for this delicacy of the King; and suspended for a month the *habeas corpus* act; a favour granted to administration for the first time, since the act had been passed. But, while most were satisfied of the necessity which seemed to call for the measure, and thought, that, in secret and dangerous conspiracies, the citizen had no right to complain, who lost his liberty for a short time, that it might be preserved for ever; others exclaimed, that a breach was made in the barrier of personal freedom, and that the worst precedents were often established in the reigns of the best Princes.

Parimony of
parliament.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these attentions, however, the commons could not be induced to proceed in supplying the King's wants as he wished. Men had now become sensible that the dependence of Charles the Second, and the independence of his bro-

ther upon parliaments, had arise from the straits of the one, and the affluence of the other. The whig-party, therefore, formed a regular plan * to keep the King dependant by his necessity; and the tories gave way to it, partly from the malicious pleasure of seeing him in difficulties, and partly from the prospect of giving him a disgust at the whigs. The commons first voted, † That the late King's revenue should be levied until the 29th of June ensuing; which implied, that it was expired by the vacancy of the throne: Afterwards ‡ they repealed it formally, and resolved that all the new grants, except that of the hereditary excise, should endure only for a year. They voted likewise, that the King's revenue § should be no more than £. 1,200,000, although the late King's had been two millions; and although the accounts presented to the house shewed, that the neat expences of government amounted to more than 1,700,00. They restricted the civil list || to £. 600,000, and loaded it ** with several new burdens. They provided †† pay for the Irish army only for six months, and gave £. 600,000 for the Dutch charges, and £. 700,000 ‡‡ for the support of the navy; although the estimate of the one had been £. 700,000, and of the other, §§ £. 1,100,000. Even these votes gave little security to the King, either for his own revenue, or for the national services: For the commons ||| postponed from time to time the assignment of funds: Some assignments were lost by differences with the house of Lords; others were dropped by the Commons:

* Burnet, 2. 13.

† Ibid. July 24.

** Ibid. April 20.

§§ Ibid. March 26.

† Journals of the House of Commons, March 11.

§ Ibid. April 27.

†† Ibid. March 23.

|| Ibid. March 20.

‡‡ Ibid. April 25.

||| The poll-bill did not pass the commons till the 26th of April. The additional poll-bill was lost by a difference with the Lords, who claimed a right to tax themselves. The bill for one shilling in the pound upon estates and offices did not pass the commons till the 17th of June, nor that for the additional customs till the 12th of July. This last was lost by a difference with the Lords upon their claiming a right to alter a money bill. The bill for a tax upon ground-rents in London was dropped by the commons. The excise-bill passed the commons so late as the 15th of July: And that for establishing a fund for payment of the Dutch charges still later, to wit, on the 10th of August. Vid. Journals of the House of Commons of those dates.

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The bill for settling the King's revenue was not ordered till late in the session; nor did it pass this session at all: And the produce of the funds assigned, when joined together, was far short of the sums voted.

It hurts public credit.

THESE things affected the King the more, because they injured public credit: Distrusting the stability of the present government, and observing the want of confidence in the King manifested by the commons, the monied men * scrupled to advance upon the votes of parliament. Even while the commons were laying several funds together † for the most salutary of national purposes, the care of the navy, they were obliged to empower a committee to receive proposals for a collateral security. The servants of government discovered the same distrust. A strong instance of this appeared at Chester. An officer ‡ having been sent with some supplies into Ireland, and ordered to receive £. 1000, in passing, from the custom-house of Chester, the collector paid £. 600 of the money; but refused the remainder, because he had not government-money in his hands. The dethroner of one King, the rival of another, the head of the protestant league, the ruler of two of the wealthiest nations in Europe, was refused the advance of £. 400, by one of his own custom-houses. In the mean time, the Dutch, the Scotch, the Irish, the friends and enemies equally of William in England, the fleet that was equipped, the army that was raising, even the creditors of the two late Princes, were clamorous for money, which the King had not always to give. William found, that the head of a free people, whether a Stadtholder of Holland, or a King of England, must sometimes be as necessitous as his subjects §.

* Reresby, 341.

† Journals of the House of Commons, April 30.

‡ M'Kenzie, p. 54. Journals House of Commons, August 12.

§ From the correspondence of the Lords Justices of Ireland with Lord Nottingham, which is in the Paper-office, and from the manuscript correspondence of General M'Kay with King William and Lord Portland, it appears, that the governments of Ireland and Scotland were miserably distressed for money, during some years after the revolution.

It was in vain for the King to complain of the difficulties he found in his new government. Great bodies of his subjects answered, that their grievances were much greater. The Tories represented, through the channel of Lord Nottingham, "That, however willing their party in general was to support the interests of the crown, they durst not discover their inclinations, but were obliged to concur in measures they disapproved, because their enemies in the house of commons were permitted to keep axes and rods hanging over them." That Lord pointed out to the King, "the danger of a state of party in which the Whigs were ready to continue old disturbances, and the Tories to create new ones; the former to inflict punishments for offences committed in the late reigns, and the latter to escape from them: Offences which ought to be overlooked, because most of the leading men in the nation had been engaged in them, and because the best way to avoid future injuries was to bury the past in oblivion." The church of England insinuated, "That honour and consistency, with former professions, made it difficult for all her members openly and at once to acknowledge his title to the throne, however well pleased in private most of them might be with his possessing it." A suggestion which probably had the more weight with the King, because attention to the history of the nation for many centuries might have taught him, that oaths imposed by government, are slender securities. The dissenters complained, "That they were scarcely ranked among English subjects; for their laity was excluded from views of ambition in the state, and their clergy in the church; the one by the necessity of taking the sacramental test, and the other by that of complying with the act of uniformity." The sectaries exclaimed, "That they were even exposed to punishments by law for the sake of their consciences." And these two last bodies of men reminded him of his promises in Holland, and of the terms of his manifesto in England. The Tories therefore pressed for an act of indemnity; the church for a dispensation from taking the oaths to the new government; the dissenters for a repeal of the sacramental test in

S f

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The King's
grand scheme
for composing
religious
and civil differences.

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favour of all protestants, and an act of comprehension; and the sectaries for an act of toleration at least.

ALTHOUGH no man was more ready than William to take advantage of accidents, yet his natural genius, and the continual difficulties of his life, had accustomed him to act by system. He therefore entered into all these different views, and resolved to carry them into execution in one common plan. By this conduct he hoped to gain all parties. Perhaps too, the language so often repeated in public and private flatteries, that he was to deliver England from all her miseries and dissensions, might suggest the thought of signalising the first year of his reign, by uniting all his people, and abolishing the distinctions of whig and tory, churchman and dissenter: Distinctions which, unless so far as they affected himself, his natural magnanimity and phlegmatic temper made him look upon with indifference.

His proposal
for a repeal
of the sacra-
mental test
disappointed.
March 16.

THE attack upon the sacramental test came from the King. As soon as he came to the throne, he had signified in council his desire that all protestants should be indiscriminately capable of holding offices. Soon after he took an opportunity to give a more public declaration of his sentiments: For he went to parliament, while the Lords were adjusting the new oaths, and, in a speech, made use of these words: "As I doubt not you will sufficiently provide against papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all protestants that are willing and able to serve. This conjunction in my service will tend to unite you among yourselves, and to strengthen you against your common enemies." The speech was communicated previously only to Lord Halifax and Mr. Hampden. The day before, a committee had been appointed * to add to the oath-bill, a clause for taking away the necessity of the sacramental test, Lord Halifax † contending for it beyond others. But, after this speech was heard, the clause was rejected by a great majority. A similar clause was offered as a rider ‡: It met with the same fate. A petition from

March 21.

* Journals of the House of Lords, March 15. † Burnet, 2. p. 8. Journals of the House of Lords, March 16. ‡ Ibid. March 23.

the city of London to the house of commons *, that the King might be at liberty to use indiscriminately the service of all his protestant subjects, was equally disregarded.

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THE King, in order to make up for the disappointment which the church-party was giving him, and to attain two ends at once, signified privately his wishes to dispense with the oaths of the clergy to government, provided the rest of his protestant-subjects were relieved from the sacramental test; recommended a dispensation to the house of Lords; and in the end got a clause put into the oath-bill which conferred upon him a power of giving dispensations; for the clause did not oblige the clergy to take the oaths, unless tendered by the King and council. The church party embraced the favour presented to them, but took no notice of the return that was expected for it. The bill passed the house of Lords. †

Scheme for
dispensing
with the oaths
of the clergy
disappointed

IRRITATED by this, the dissenters in the house of commons resolved to show as little delicacy to the consciences of churchmen, as the churchmen had shewn to theirs; and therefore, when they received the oath-bill from the Lords, they moved for an amendment to oblige the clergy to take the oaths before the first of August ensuing, without any excuse, under pain of suspension, and, in six months from that period, under pain of deprivation. The rest of the whigs joined the dissenters in the amendment; because, however jealous of the power of the King, they were still more jealous of any thing that could weaken the security of his title. The amendment ‡ passed the commons: When sent to the Lords it was rejected. Conferences ensued between the houses, but in vain; for rigour had produced obstinacy. All the allowance that could be obtained from the commons for the prejudices of high-churchmen, was a power to the King to grant to any twelve clergymen

April 15th.

* Journals of the House of Commons June 25. † Reresby, 327. Burnet, 2. p. 8. Journ. House of Lords, 16 March. ‡ Journals of the House of Commons, 13th and 15th April.

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March 28.

He is disap-
pointed in the
bill of com-
prehension.

who should be deprived for refusing to take the oaths, a third of their benefices during his pleasure.

DURING this struggle, the coronation oath to be taken by the King was adjusted in the house of commons: Part of it, was, that the King should maintain the protestant religion: The church-party added these words, "As established by law," in order to bind the King to the maintenance of the church of England alone. The dissenters endeavoured to * preserve themselves from the consequence of this addition by another, "That nothing in the act should be understood to disable the King from assenting to any bill presented by parliament for altering any form or ceremony of the established church, provided her doctrines, a liturgy, and episcopal government be preserved;" but were over ruled.

ALL these things might have convinced the King, how fruitless as well as unpopular it was, to persevere in his scheme of obtaining favour for dissenters: But obstinate in what he thought to be right, he persisted in supporting a bill of comprehension, which, by his suggestion, had been brought into the house of Lords. And indeed, many things promised it success. In the hour of common danger from popery, during the late reign, the church had made every advance to the presbyterian part of the dissenters, and among other things had proposed to them a scheme of comprehension, in which, by mutual concessions, both parties might have been united in principles and preferments. The bishops had testified their wishes for it to the late King, in the paper for which they had been sent to the Tower. Sancroft the Archbishop † had even gone some length in adjusting the terms of it. The applications of the church of England to the Prince of Orange, and the Prince's manifesto to the nation, had been full of it. Before the non-juring bishops retired from parliament ‡, they had, either from real or affected moderation, recommended an act of com-

* Journals of the House of Commons, 28th March.

† State Trials,

Vol. V. 840.

‡ Burnet, 2. p. 6. Journals of the House of Lords, 23d March.

prehension. The Earl of Nottingham, the chief of the high church party *, had brought the bill into the house of Lords. These things deceived the King into an opinion, that it was agreeable to the nation. But he was soon undeceived: A fierce contest arose in the house of Lords, whether scrupulous dissenters should be indulged in not kneeling at the sacrament: A more manly subject of debate ensued upon the question, whether any lay Lords should be joined to the spiritual ones in framing the terms of comprehension. The votes † were equal in both questions. The bill with difficulty passed the peers, and was sent to the commons. But, to the astonishment of the King and the people, the commons, instead of proceeding upon it, instantly voted ‡ an address, in which they thanked the King for his care of the church, and reminded him that the misfortunes of preceding Princes had been owing to their want of it: Compliments and commemorations which were in reality reproaches! they concluded with begging him to summon a convocation of the clergy, "to be advised with in the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs." Soon after the Lords concurred in the address. This application to put the interests of the dissenters into the hands of a convocation of their adversaries, the King answered with expressions of compliment equally insincere. He said he would call a convocation; but the time of calling it he kept indefinite by adding, "He would do it as soon as might be."

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OF all the King's schemes for the reconciliation of his protestant subjects, he was successful in that only of a toleration. The bill for it passed both houses without opposition, partly from the humanity and good sense of the nation, and partly because the church was thought to be sufficiently secured, by the disappointments which the King had received.

The King's success confined to the bill of toleration.

* Journals of the House of Lords, March 27.

† Ibid. 3d and 5th April.

‡ Journals of the House of Commons, April 9th and 13th.

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BOOK I.1689.
Causes of
his disap-
pointments.

ALTHO' in history, the causes of events should be pointed out before the events themselves are related, yet a contrary method becomes sometimes necessary. There were various causes of these disappointments. The church party was by far the most numerous in parliament; many being tories in the church, who were whigs in the state. A number of members, who had deserted their duty in parliament, returned, and took their seats during these debates, in order to protect the church from the invasion, as they called it, which was making upon her. The assistance of the dissenters against popery, and in defence of liberty, was now no longer needed; and their short-lived connections with the late King were recollected. Ancient antipathies, with new jealousies, started up in the minds of the tories; and both were increased by the freedoms with which some of the whig Lords, particularly Macclesfield and Mordaunt, treated the church in their speeches and protests; * for even those could not bear to hear her treated with indecency, who had never attended to her tenets. Of the whig-party of the established communion, many looked upon matters of religion with indifference, and thought, that the toleration in favour of all opinions would be the more easily maintained, in proportion to the greater numbers who stood in need of it. Of the dissenters themselves, many of the presbyterians were afraid lest they should weaken the strength of their party, by dividing the dissenting interest, and the more rigid sectaries looked with envy at that participation of honours in church and in state, which the presbyterians were to obtain, and from which they themselves were to be excluded. There were a few in parliament too of firm minds and remoter views †, who, reflecting that the dissenting interest had been always as much attached to liberty, as the church of England had been to prerogative, thought that opposition and liberty would be buried in the same grave; and that great factions should be kept alive, both in church and in state, for the sake of the state itself.

* Lords journals.

† Burnet, 2. p. 11.

WILLIAM found equal difficulty in reconciling the political differences of his subjects. A few days after his speech in favour of dissenters, he sent a message to both houses, recommending an act of indemnity. The magnanimity of this measure could not be opposed with decency in public; both houses, therefore, gave him thanks in an address. But some members of the upper, and many more of the lower house, concerted measures in private to disappoint that mercy for which they had thanked their sovereign in public.

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March 25.
Preparations made in parliament to disappoint an indemnity.

WILLIAM's attempts to end old divisions proved only the sources of new ones. He was repayed with the jealousy of the whigs for his compassion to tories, and with the anger of the church for his favour to dissenters. Many of the discontented whigs suggested to their party in private *, "That all Kings were fond of prerogative, "and that the King wanted a pardon for the ministers of the late "reigns, only with a view to employ servants, who would be as obsequious to him as they had been to former princes."

Effects of the King's attempts to remove differences.

BUT the breach between the King and a great part of the church became notorious: Multitudes of her members first persuaded themselves, and then a great part of their followers, "That the church "of England ran a greater risk in the present reign from dissenters, than it had done in the late one from Roman catholics." Sancroft the Archbishop refused to crown the King; five of the bishops who had been sent to the Tower by the late King, and three others, refused to take the oaths, to wait upon the King, or to give their attendance in parliament. Many hundreds of the inferior clergy imitated, in their own spheres, these examples of disobedience. The popularity of the five bishops became greater with their own party, from the contrast between their behaviour and that of Archbishop Lamplugh, and Bishop Sprat, two favourites of the old court, but who now concurred with the measures of the

Breach with the church.

* Burnet, 2. p. 15. Lord Delamer's works.

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new one in all things : And hence, the greater animosity arose, between those of the clergy who conformed, and those who did not conform to the new government. The nation entered into the disputes of the church ; for, as all her members alledged the impulse of conscience to justify what they did, one half of the people honoured, and the other scoffed at, the principles they assumed. But the King stood astonished to find, that he reigned over subjects who were more fond of continuing divisions, than other nations are of bringing them to a period.

War declar-
ed against
France.

April 27.

HIGH spirited nations forget their own animosities only in those against other nations. The King resolved to gratify his natural hatred of France, and hoped to purchase domestic quiet to himself, by turning the rage of the nation upon the continual object of its aversion and jealousy. The parliament, though divided in every other thing, was unanimous in favouring the inclination of the King on this point. Both houses, therefore, in an address, assured him of their support in a war against France : The King could not conceal his joy when he received it. The words of his answer were short and unaffected, and therefore contained the sentiments of his heart : “ The measures of France,” he said, “ amounted so much to a declaration of war, that a war on the part of England was not so much an act of choice, as of necessity.” The Empire, Spain, Holland, the Elector of Brandenburg, united at the same time against France, and many other Princes prepared to join them. The hour seemed to approach when Lewis XIV. was to be called upon, to pay the forfeit he had long owed for his insults to all the nations around him. William is reported to have said to his confidants, that, the day on which England joined the other powers of Europe against their common enemy, “ was the “ first day of his reign.” But, as the late King was in Ireland, those, who considered the state of things with less sanguine expectations, foresaw, that a war on the part of England must chiefly be defensive. Others, who examined the nature of free and trading nations, were persuaded, that an alliance between England and Holland, under one common Prince, could not fail to be the subject of jealousies to both.

B O O K II.

*THE late King's arrival in Ireland.—State of that Kingdom.—
The different Advices he gets.—Siege of Londonderry.—Clamours
in England on account of it.—Sea-fight of Bantry-Bay.—Conti-
nuation of the Siege.—Barbarity of Marshal Rosen.—The Siege
raised.—Fate of the Garrison.—Proceedings of the Irish Par-
liament.—Exercise of Government in Ireland —James's own Con-
duct.—Lord Dundee's Exploits.—Manners of the Highlanders,
with their Causes.—Their Dress, Armour, and manner of War.—
—Battle of Killikranksy.—Fate of Lord Dundee's Officers.*

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THE first hostilities between France and England appeared in Ireland: For, while England was rent with factions, Lord Dundee meditating a civil war in Scotland, and one half of Europe animated against the other, to support or depress the cause of the late King, that Prince had sailed from France, and arrived upon the 12th of March at Kingsale in Ireland. Before he quitted France, he had written to the Emperor to ask that assistance, which, he said, one Popish Prince might expect from another in a cause common to all Princes. The unhappy find few friends! The Emperor's answer under the common cover of affected pity, was filled with reproaches of past misconduct, and of that secret French alliance, which he well knew had never been made; and, to make the affront more public, both letters were printed. But James had met with mortifications which were still more humbling: The preparations for this enterprize, and even the propriety of the enterprize itself, having become the subjects of intrigue * among

The late King's arrival in Ireland.

March 12.

* Burnet, 2. 17

the French ministers, he, to whom a nation of freemen had been accustomed to bow, hung long, in uncertain hopes, upon the servants of another, perhaps not unmindful of his own inattention upon former occasions to the sufferings of others. But the French King, feeling from sympathy of rank, for his unhappy guest, what no minister could, gave orders to hasten the preparations for his voyage. James was attended by a multitude of British and Irish nobility and officers who had adhered to his fortunes, 2500 soldiers of the same nations, and about an hundred French officers. Marechal Rosen commanded the expedition. The Count D'Avaux, who had so often, when ambassador in Holland, given warning in vain, of the Prince of Orange's intentions, now accompanied James as ambassador from France; in his person, a sad monitor of past errors, and, in his office, an omen of future misfortunes! The French King supplied James with 400,000 crowns in money, and with equipage of every kind befitting his dignity. The same Prince offered to send with him a force of French troops. But, with a magnanimity which he was found afterwards incapable of supporting, he answered, † "I will recover my own dominions with my own subjects, or perish in the attempt." Lewis XIV. who deemed it to be part of a great monarch's character to study his compliments, and who mingled the grand and the pleasant in all his sayings of ceremony, said to his friend at taking leave of him: "The best wish I can form for your service, is, that I may never see you again."

State of that
kingdom.

JAMES found the appearances of things in Ireland equal to his wishes; Tyrconnel the Lord Lieutenant devoted to him; his old army steady, and a new one raised, making together 30,000 foot, and 8000 horse; the protestants over the greatest part of Ireland disarmed; the province of Ulster alone in disobedience; the papists in arms, frantic with joy, enthusiasm, and the prospect of independence upon England; no English troops in the kingdom, no fleet on the coasts; his reception at King'sale and Cork cordial;

† Sir John Reresby, 333.

and his public entry into Dublin magnificent. Upon intelligence of James's intention to come speedily to Ireland, Tyrconnel had sent Colonel Hamilton, the same man who had forfeited his honour to King William, against the protestants in the North; for these, having at last, in March, received encouragement from King William, had proclaimed him and his consort. Hamilton's forces drove their opponents from post to post, and gave them so complete a defeat at Drummore, that it was called, in the Irish manner of expression, the *rout of Drummore*. After this, most of those who were ill affected to the government of James retired into Scotland and England, or hid themselves, or accepted of written protections, from their enemies. The bravest, however, of the protestant interest *, to the number of 10,000, gathered together around Londonderry, resolved to make their last stand at that place for their religion and liberty. A few also rallied themselves at Inniskilling; and, after the first panic was over, became more numerous by the junction of others.

JAMES continued, some time after his arrival, irresolute what use to make of this prosperous state of his affairs. Lord Dundee † pressed him from Scotland, "To embark with part of his army "for that country, in which there were no regular troops ‡, except "four regiments, which King William had lately sent down; "where his presence would fix the wavering, intimidate the timid, and where hosts of shepherds would start up warriors at "the first wave of his banner upon their mountains." From England §, and by many too who were with him in Ireland, he was advised, "To repair instantly to England with all the forces he "could waft over. In vain was it for him to consume time in "completing the conquest of Ireland, nine tenths of which were "already under his dominion: A country dispirited by a subjection that had endured for centuries, and which, from the "remoteness of its situation from the rest of Europe, nature her-

Different advices given to James.

* M'Kenzie, p. 24.

† Story, p. 2. pag. 5.

‡ Lord Balcarras.

§ Burnet, 2. 18.

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“ self had determined should always follow, never command the
 “ fortunes of England. Trifling was the gain in subduing the re-
 “ maining part; but important would be the loss in its consequen-
 “ ces, if his new arms should meet with a disgrace. While France
 “ threatened; while England was in open discontent; while Scot-
 “ land nourished in her bowels a secret fire, which, like the silence
 “ before thunder, was only the prelude to more dangerous mis-
 “ chiefs; while Ireland was eager to waste her blood and her trea-
 “ sures in his cause; now was the time to shake a throne new,
 “ unsettled, usurped, and to overwhelm a people trembling al-
 “ ways at the first sound of invasion, but gathering strength, and
 “ spirit, and union, to meet it with courage when too long delayed.
 “ If he should fail of success, it was more glorious for him, in one
 “ great contest, to fail, or even to fall, in the heart of his kingdom,
 “ in the eyes of his native subjects, pitied and respected even by
 “ those who conquered him, than to wage war at a distance like a
 “ fugitive, wasting the provinces, and weakening the strength of his
 “ country.”

FROM a fatality which attended this Prince from his cradle to his grave, he rejected both these counsels, and followed those of the French who surrounded him: French counsels to an English monarch, and therefore the worst. The French had instructions from their own court to protract the civil war, and to secure the possession of Ireland, in order that from thence France might be enabled to annoy England. But their intentions were covered from James under specious pretences. They remonstrated, “ How danger-
 “ ous it would be to oppose forces mostly new levied, and un-
 “ disciplined, to the veteran troops which the Prince of Orange had
 “ brought from abroad with him; to the national forces of
 “ a people accustomed to believe all nations to be inferior to
 “ them in all things, but chiefly in courage; Irish to English,
 “ the conquered to the conquerors. By carrying the war into Ul-
 “ ster, and laying siege to the rebellious towns there, he might
 “ train his troops to the habits, the fatigues, the discipline, the arts
 “ of war, and discover the nature of that army upon which his own
 “ fate was to depend. To trust his person to the Scotch, who, for-
 “ getting all the ancient honours of their nation, had betrayed his

“ father for money, when he had thrown himself into their arms for
 “ protection, and after loading King James with their flatteries, had
 “ gone beyond the English rebels, by excluding even his son, and his
 “ son’s posterity, from their throne, was to rush upon his own destruc-
 “ tion. If he landed in the low parts of their country, he would find
 “ himself encompassed with men, who thought, that, in fighting a-
 “ gainst their King, they fought for their God : If in the highlands,
 “ barren would be his conquests ; his army must fall inglorious,
 “ consumed by famine, wandering from hill to hill like the mists of
 “ the country, and conquered even by the elements. To invade
 “ England with a small force, which he had not been able to keep
 “ with a great one, would be equally imprudent : The Prince of
 “ Orange had not made his invasion in that manner. To carry a
 “ great force thither, was at present impossible ; for, before trans-
 “ ports could be gathered together sufficient for shipping an army,
 “ the English fleet would be on the coast of Ireland, and the
 “ French fleet was already retired to its own. Even although his
 “ army could be landed in England, his only approach was upon
 “ the western side of the island, because he had no shipping for a
 “ voyage more distant ; and, if he landed on that side, his troops
 “ would be obliged to march many days, through countries inclosed
 “ and woody, where the very felling of the trees across the roads,
 “ would prove barriers against their advancing. The gain of a bat-
 “ tle would not ensure his success ; the enemy might still dispute
 “ every pass, and army after army would be raised against him as
 “ he slowly advanced. A single defeat was inevitable ruin ; re-
 “ treat, even flight, impossible ; the Duke of Monmouth’s fate
 “ might perhaps be his fate. But in Ireland he could rise strong
 “ from defeat, and, even in the despair of religion and party,
 “ find resources which could only terminate with the passions of
 “ men. The conquest of Ulster, which contained only a few coun-
 “ try-gentlemen with their tenants, and a rabble of cowardly me-
 “ chanics, was easily accomplished : But it would add reputation to
 “ his arms : And, if that northern province were in his hands, he
 “ could waft what forces he pleased in a few hours into Scotland.
 “ By completing the conquest of Ireland, a way would be paved,
 “ slow perhaps, but sure, to his throne. From thence his old ar-

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“mies could be recruited, and new ones raised: There he could
 “receive succours of fleets, and forces, and treasures, from France;
 “wait the event of Dundee’s exploits in Scotland, of insurrections
 “in England, of invasions from abroad into both of these king-
 “doms, and derive advantages even from the accidents of for-
 “tune. The English harrassed by the stoppage of their trade, by
 “the weight of taxes, by the miseries of a civil war of which
 “no end was to be seen, would curse that invader whom they had
 “lately blessed as their deliverer. Even the national levity would
 “make that people return to their natural sovereign, supported
 “by near two millions of Irish subjects, who had, of their own ac-
 “cord, returned to his brother, when an exile in Flanders, unat-
 “tended and friendless.”

PERSUADED by these arguments, James took his measures for a continuance in Ireland. He called a parliament to meet him at Dublin on the 7th day of May, as if this mock state, in a province whose parliaments had been little considered hitherto, could supply the want of real sovereignty. And, in the mean time, quitting Dublin as soon as the spring would permit, he went to lay siege to Londonderry; a town of small importance at other times, but rendered famous by the defence which it made now, and the consequences which that defence had upon the future operations of the war.

Siege of
 Londonderry.

AMIDST the difficulties which King William had, to find officers in Ireland whom he could trust, he had appointed Colonel Lundie to be governor of Londonderry: A man whose fidelity was so little known, that the officer sent to him from England with the stores of war was ordered * not to deliver his charge, until Lundie had taken the oaths in his presence to the new government. The precaution was necessary, but weak: For Lundie, having been one of Tyrconnel’s officers, had quitted the interests of King James, only with a view to serve them the more effectually. Lundie, as James’s army advanced towards Londonderry, abandoned pass after pass †,

* M’Kenzy, p. 24. Journals House of Commons, August 12.

† Walker, M’Kenzie, passim. Journ. House of Commons, August 12.

sometimes with feeble, and sometimes with no defence; and, at last, upon the 13th April, took refuge in the town.

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1689.

Two days before King James could overtake Lundie, two regiments, under the command of Colonel Richards and Colonel Cunningham, arrived from England in the lake which makes a communication between the sea and the town. Their orders having been discretionary, to land the troops or not, according as the service should require, they offered to join Lundie: They urged him to march out of the town, and defend one of the passes which was still left. Lundie wrote them an ambiguous and contradictory answer: In the beginning of his letter, he desired them to land: In the end of it *, he told them the place was untenable, and referred them for particulars to the officer who carried the letter: The officer delivered them orders not to land the men, but to come to town themselves with some of their officers, in order to attend a council of war. To this council Lundie called only two of his own officers, thirteen of those belonging to the two regiments and the town clerk, whose assistance was necessary to frame the minutes of council †. To these persons he painted, in the strongest colours, the weakness of the town in military stores, in defences, in provisions: He even averred, that, to his own knowledge, there was not subsistence in it for ten days. The council came to a resolution, opposed only by Richards, not to land the regiments, and that all the officers should privately withdraw from the town. The two Colonels, with some of their officers, retired from the council to their ships. Lundie next called a meeting of the town-council, where it was resolved to send messengers to King James, with an offer to surrender the town next day.

It was intended to keep the result of these councils secret. But, next morning, the town-clerk, convening a number of the people, informed them of every thing that had passed. The inhabitants and many of the soldiers of the garrison crying out, "They were betrayed by those who were bound to defend them," rose in a fury against the governor, the town-council, and such of the of-

* M'Kenzie, p. 25. † Ibid.

ficers as they suspected: They shot one of the officers*; they wounded another. Hence the highest uproar and division; for, while some were framing the terms of surrender, others were planting guns on the wall: In one place, the multitude was pressed to yield to necessity; in another, voices were heard calling to fire upon those who proposed it.

DURING this state of public distraction, James was seen slowly advancing with his army, to take possession of a town which had sent messengers to receive him: A sight which increased the fears of the one party, and the rage of the other. At this instant, † advice was brought, that, on the opposite side of the town, Captain Murray a brave officer, conspicuous in person, and known to all, was advancing with impetuosity, at the head of a body of horse, to prevent the surrender. Lundie sent him orders to retire from the view of the inhabitants. But great numbers stretching their arms and bodies from the walls, and calling upon him by name, and upon all his followers whom they knew, to advance to their relief, he entered the place. In broken speeches he called to the multitude who surrounded him as soon as he passed the gate, to remember glory, safety, religion, their country, themselves, their posterity, with other topics which natural passion dictated, or the present exigency required. He pointed to different persons to secure the gates, to run to arms, to mount the walls, to point the guns. He directed all those whose voices were for defending the town, to distinguish themselves ‡ by tying a white cloth round the left arm. From thence he hastened to Lundie, then sitting in a council ||, whom he tried, but in vain, to sooth with flattery, or rouse by reproaches. In the mean time the multitude, kindled by the ardour of Murray's spirit, rushed to obey the orders they had received, fired upon King James, killed an officer by his side, and obliged him to retire.

WHEN these violent actions were over, and the inhabitants reflected there were no regular troops among them, fear and consciousness of what they had done, and what they were to expect,

* M^c Kenzie, p. 27. † Ibid. p. 28. ‡ Ibid. p. 29. || Ibid.

seized them: They pressed for the landing of the regiments: They offered to submit to authority: They kept even Lundie a kind of prisoner in his own house to prevent his departure. Embracing those officers whom chance threw in their way, they conjured them not to abandon them to the rage of an affronted enemy: They flattered, encouraged, reproached, menaced, but in vain. The remaining officers of the two regiments, with many officers of the garrison, withdrew, and sailed to England. The less valiant part of the multitude, following their example, fled from the town. Lundie stole off with a load on his back: A disgraceful disguise, and suited to the man who bore it! About 7500 militia in arms remained to defend the place against an enemy, once their sovereign, and at the head of 20,000 regular forces.

MEN abandoned to themselves, often exert a vigour, which, while they trusted to others, they knew not they possessed. The town was weak in its fortifications*, having only a wall eight or nine feet thick along the face of the rampart, a ditch, eight bastions, and some out-works lately thrown up, and of little consequence. It was weaker in its artillery; there being no more than twenty serviceable guns on the works: Near 20,000 unarmed† hands increased the numbers, and diminished the strength of the place. But its best defence lay in the minds of its defenders: Men refined from all the dross of their party, and possessed of the valour and enthusiasm of those Scottish ancestors from whom most of the inhabitants of Ulster are descended. They offered the command of the place to Captain Murray: With the ingenuous frankness which is the common attendant of true courage, he answered, “He was better fitted for offensive than defensive war;” and offered to take the command of the horse. Major Baker was chosen governor: With that modesty, which likewise attends true courage, he begged to have an assistant. The garrison, under the impressions of religion which danger incites, chose Mr. Walker, a clergyman, to assist him; a man who hid a great and warlike spirit, under the most peaceful of professions. These men formed the garrison and inhabitants into

* Walker, p. 5.

† Ibid. p. 5. and 16. Ibid. M’Kenzie, p. 30.

a number of regiments proportioned to that of the bastions: And, in order to create the greater emulation, they assigned different parts of the works to different regiments *, which they alone were to defend. The besieged repaired their fortifications and artillery, as well as the shortness of the time would permit. They alarmed King James by continual sallies in the day, in the night, in time of meals, in rain, in mist. They destroyed his works; or, where success failed them, they returned contented that they had harrassed his troops. These sallies they made more formidable by a practice which pedants in the profession of arms would have disapproved †. When a sally was to be made, the command was offered to whatever officer would undertake it; and the officer offered the service to whatever soldiers would attend him: Hence competition among the officers: Hence confidence among the soldiers, who reasoned upon the merits of those who commanded them, and followed those only in sudden services under whom they were sure to conquer. Murray flew from man to man, and from body to body. Walker assembled them at sermons. Murray cried out, "That it was not
 " a few military evolutions, nor the movements of arms by rule,
 " the mere parade and foppery of war, which made soldiers; but
 " strong bodies, stronger minds, the contempt of dangers and death:
 " Or, if in regular fields of battle, disciplined troops had the advantage over a militia, useless was that advantage here, where the defenders fought behind walls; a situation in which those who could
 " bear most fatigue, and durst stand longest to their posts, must
 " in the end prevail in the contest." Walker pointed to their churches, to the sky: "These were the holy fanes, from which their enemies
 " were to drive them, if they survived, with disgrace: This the asylum prepared for them by their God, if they died with glory in his
 " cause." The young animated the old: The old gave counsel, gave praises to the young: All were fired by hatred of the Catholic religion, enthusiasm for their own, and the dread of a vengeance proportioned to both. Perhaps too the spirit of competition, and the glory of defending a place which regular troops had abandoned, was equal to any of their other incitements. James continued his

* Walker, p. 16.

† M'Kenzie, p. 32, 33.

attacks unsuccessfully during eleven days; and then went to Dublin to meet his parliament. He left the army under Hamilton to continue the siege.

PART II.
BOOK II.

1689.

UPON the report of these things in England, great murmurs arose against government, for leaving Ireland so defenceless. Pity for the brave defenders of Londonderry, deserted by the foldiers who were sent to defend them, mingled itself with discontent. The people, in their imaginations, transported themselves into the town, saw the famine, and heard the cries of the besieged calling in vain for help and for vengeance. Their sufferings and dangers were augmented by distance; and hence, greater honours were paid to them. The complaints of the public turned next upon the officers of the fleet, "who cowardly, inactive, or treacherous, " (it was said) had left their ships to rot in harbours, while "the navies of France had been riding triumphant on the ocean, " and wafted a Prince, an army, and civil war, into the dominions "of her enemy." These complaints against the navy were increased by intelligence received, that the French had made another embarkation of stores, and some troops, for the service of their allies in Ireland. Admiral Herbert was therefore dispatched from Spithead, in quest of the French fleet which was to conduct the embarkation; and orders were given for all the ships of war which were at hand to attend him, and others to follow as fast as they came into the ports of England, or could be equipped. Herbert took with him twelve ships of the line; nine others joined him at sea.

Clamours in
England on
account of
London-
derry.

AT first he sailed for France; but, having been driven off by easterly winds, he concluded it was better * to watch on the coast of Ireland, than on that of France. His opinion proved just: For, on the 29th of April, the French fleet commanded by Chateau Renault, and consisting of about twenty-eight ships of the line †, was descried

Sea-fight of
Bantry-Bay.

* Gazette, May 6.

† Doctor Campbell, v. 3. p. 7. and Gazette May 6.

upon the coast of Ireland. By accidents of winds, and bad intelligence, Herbert did not approach the enemies, who were lying in Bantry-bay, until the 1st of May. He then crowded sail to intercept them. But the French, conscious of their superiority, and perceiving his intention, weighed anchor, formed their line, and advanced in calm and regular order to meet him. The ardour of an English admiral, and of English seamen, for action, prevented Herbert's line from being formed with the same regularity. The French, who had the advantage of the wind, kept it all day, and shewed by their workings, to the astonishment of the English, and perhaps to their own, that their vessels were equal in agility, and their seamen in dexterity to those of their antagonists. The battle lasted most of the day with equal success. In the evening the English retired towards Scilly: the enemy, towards Ireland. No ships were lost on either side; but several were disabled. Each Admiral, as often happens in sea-engagements, claimed the superiority in public. But there was this difference in the private sentiments of those they commanded, that the English officers and seamen termed it a defeat, not to have been victorious on their own element: and the French accounted it a victory, because they were not defeated. The latter, however, made their disembarkation good, and returned unmolested to their own country; which determined on whose side the advantage lay. When the news of this advantage reached Ireland, D'Avaux, the French ambassador hastened to James to inform him that the English fleet had been defeated by the French. James, with a generous peevishness, answered: "C'est bien la premiere fois donc:" "It is the first time then."

WILLIAM, in order to prevent the bad success of this first essay of his new arms from affecting the minds of the seamen, went down to Portsmouth, dined in the Admiral's ship, knighted two of the Captains, bestowed a donative on the mariners, a peerage on Herbert, on all compliments. Though cold to courtiers, Wil-

liam was warm and cordial to men of the profession of arms. Pleased with the attention, the seamen believed they had beat that enemy by whom a few days before they had acknowledged they were defeated.

PART II.
BOOK I.

1689.

BUT the accession of strength to James's party, by the disembarkation from France, did not shake the resolution of the faithful defenders of Londonderry. General Kirk had been sent to them from England with provisions, and a reinforcement of 5000 men. From different accidents, he did not arrive in the lake of Derry until the 13th of June. Upon the sight of his fleet, which consisted of thirty sail *, the besieged gave the usual salutations of joy: But, perceiving them received with silence, and no jovial returns made by the seamen, they looked upon each other with uncertain and foreboding eyes. Soon after, they were informed, that Kirk, upon receiving information that the passage of the river to the town was secured by works, had resolved to retire to the Inch, an island six miles from Londonderry. These works † were batteries along the banks, vessels sunk in the channel, and a boom which had been thrown a-cross the river, and which was defended by two forts; and all these were reported to be much stronger than they were. Upon these sad news, the besieged made signals of distress from their steeples to Kirk, but in vain. After ‡ a short stay, he set sail; the inhabitants of the town following his ships with their eyes as long as they could perceive them. Kirk chose the Inch for station ||; because it facilitated the junction of the volunteers, who lay at Inniskillin, with his detachment; and for that reason too he fortified it. From thence he sent a letter to the townsmen, assuring them, in terms full of affectation, that every thing, in Scotland, England, and Ireland, was prosperous, and that succours beyond their wishes were speedily to join them; but he concluded with giving them in charge to husband well their provisions: A letter more alarming than all the menaces of the enemy.

Kirk sent to
relieve Lon-
donderry;

but retires to
the Inch.

* Walker, p. 24. † M'Kenzie, p. 38. ‡ Gazette, July 8. || Hamilton.

PART II.
BOOK II.

1689.

Great spirit
of the be-
sieged.

BUT the besieged, though in a desperate condition, did not give themselves up to despair: Not contented with making sallies, and defending the old out works of the place, they even advanced new ones *, and became expert in fortification and mining, by imitating the arts which were employed against them. The women attended every service †, animating the men by their cries, and often assisting them with their hands. All the spare time of the garrison and of the inhabitants was spent in private prayer or public devotion. Yet, it was strange, amidst the union created by common danger, to see religious divisions break forth ‡. The conformists and nonconformists insisted each to have possession of the cathedral; nor could mutual slaughter have been prevented, had it not been agreed that the one class should attend service in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon. About the middle of June, when the weather grew sultry, disease at last seized them, cooped up in a narrow place. They || buried fifteen officers in one day. Baker their governor died. Yet even death in this form, more dismal than in that of war, dismayed them not. Their provisions being spent, they preserved life by eating horse-flesh, tallow, starch, salted hides, impure animals, and roots of vegetables. When their cannon-ball was near spent, they made use of brick covered with lead **. In this situation, General Hamilton pressed them to surrender, upon conditions that were reasonable. Their answer consisted in asking †† “If he thought they could trust one who had betrayed the trust which their master had put in him?”

Barbarity of
Marshall Ro-
sen.

JAMES, tired with the tediousness of the siege, and alarmed at Kirk's arrival, sent Marechal Rosen, his commander in chief, in the end of June, to urge matters with more vigour ‡‡. Rosen, having more knowledge in the arts of attacking places than the Irish Generals, changed the dispositions, invested the place more closely, and made many furious but ineffectual assaults. At length, provoked by the fidelity of the garrison, instead of honouring it he took a step unparalleled in modern ages: He gave orders that all the inha-

* Walker, p. 28. M'Kenzie, p. 34. and 40. † Ibid. p. 36. ‡ Ibid. p. 32. and 33. || Ibid. p. 39. ** Walker, p. 28. M'Kenzie, p. 39. †† Walker, p. 29. and 51. ‡‡ Ibid. p. 27. and 28. M'Kenzie, p. 40.

bitants, ten miles round Londonderry, should be driven under the walls of the town: He ordered the country to be burnt: He proclaimed, if the town did not surrender before ten days were elapsed, that all the inhabitants within it should be put to the sword. 5000, or, as other writers relate, 7000 miserable wretches, who were collected from the country around, men, women, the old, the young, even the sick, and nurses with infants hanging on the breast, all were driven, with drawn swords, under the walls of the town. This device weakened the spirits of James's army by its horror, and strengthened those of the besieged by turning a sedate into a furious valour. Many of the prisoners * called to their friends on the walls above them, "To attend to their own interest, not theirs: For that a surrender to men void of all christian humanity could not save those who were without, and would only involve those who were within in one common slaughter." The Irish officers executed their orders against their countrymen, weeping and obeying; and many of them † owned that the cries they then heard rang for ever after in their ears. The besieged, on the other hand, erecting a gibbet on the bastion nearest the enemy, gave orders to hang up whatever prisoners fell into their hands, and wrote to the ‡ enemy to send priests to confess them. During two days and two nights, the unhappy victims of Rosen's resentment continued at the foot of the walls, || without meat, drink, fire, or shelter, where many hundreds of them died. At the end of that time, such of them as were able to go away were permitted to do so. But those who died were the most fortunate: For the others, filled with the seeds of diseases, and with dejection, as they wandered homewards, beheld, on all sides, their habitations in ashes, here and there at distances the smoke of some not extinguished, their cattle, furniture, provisions carried off: A vast silence reigned over the land: And they envied their companions who were at rest from their miseries. It would be inhuman to the memory of the unhappy, to impute the disgrace of this action to James: He § revoked the order as soon as he heard of it: because his own sufferings had probably taught him to feel for those of others.

* Walker, p. 32. M'Kenzie, p. 43. † Walker, p. 30. ‡ Ibid. p. 32.
§ Story. § Archbishop King, p. 197.

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BOOK II.

1689.
Londonderry
relieved.

KIRK, in the mean time, heard the cries and saw the fires, though enraged, yet perhaps not displeased to see his own character for cruelty exceeded. At last, receiving intelligence, that the garrison, sunk with fatigues, had sent proposals of capitulation, and that they had provisions only for two days, he resolved upon an attempt to throw a convoy of provisions into the place, by means of three victual frigates and a man of war to cover them: An attempt, upon the success of which, it was obvious to all, the loss or ruin of the town could not fail to depend.

As soon as these vessels approached the town upon the 30th of July, the Irish army hastened to that side; some to oppose them, and the rest to gratify their curiosity. That part of the garrison which was not upon duty ranged themselves along the walls nearest the river, with eyes intent and hands lifted up to heaven for the success of the convoy. Kirk had been deceived in the strength of the enemies works. The ship of war too, by galling the enemy's batteries, drew their fire upon itself, and thus saved the victuallers from danger. The foremost of the victuallers *, at the first shock, broke the boom; but ran aground by the turn which this gave to her course. A shout burst from the besiegers, as from the mouth of one man, which echoed to the ships, the camp, and the town. Multitudes of them, quitting their ranks, flew to the shore, and plunged into the water: Some pushed off with their hands, the boats they found there; others leaped into them; all advanced, or called to advance, against the vessel in distress. The smoke of the enemy's fire, and of her own, covered her from the sight of the besieged. During this darkness and confusion, the † besiegers called from the opposite side of the river, that the vessel was taken; a shrill cry of misery, like the wailings of women, was heard from the walls. The common paleness of fear appeared not upon men who had lost all sense of it: For one ‡, who was an eye-witness, relates, that, in the depth of despair, they looked black in the eyes of each other. But, in a little time, the victualler was seen emerging from the smoke, having got off by the rebound of her own guns; and she and her followers, amidst the tumultuous cries of both parties, sailed up to the town.

* M'Kenzie, p. 46.

† Walker, p. 35.

‡ M'Kenzie, p. 45.

THE minute enumeration of circumstances in history needs no apology, when they are the causes of great events. Upon the fortune of this convoy turned the fate of Londonderry, and perhaps of Ireland. For next day, the enemy raised the siege, after having continued it three months and a half, conscious they could have hoped for success from famine alone, not from their swords. The garrison was found to be reduced from 7500 men, to about 4000, of which 1000 were rendered * unfit for service: And the remaining part of the garrison scarcely deserved to be called men; as, by watching and famine, they had rather the appearance of shadows. Their eyes being hollow and sunk beneath their brows, there appeared, in the expression of their looks, rather signs of resentment that their enemies had escaped, than of joy that themselves were free: Even to their friends who rescued them, those dark looks seemed to mark the remembrance that their relief had so often been called for in vain: Of the unarmed multitude, about 7000 had perished by famine, diseases, or the shot of the enemy: The supply of provisions was received with silent gratitude, as if it had been a gift from heaven, not with the noisy rejoicings usual upon such occasions; the garrison, in a long and devout order, repaired in procession to church, checking the effusion of their joy, until they had returned thanks to that God who was the author of their relief.

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1689.

THE example of the inhabitants of Londonderry raised emulation in the other protestant Irish. About this time, 2500 Inniskilling men †, under the command of Colonel Wolfey, defeated 6000 of Tyrconnel's Irish troops, at Newton Butler. 2000 were killed, 500 drowned in a lake, when trying to escape, and 300 taken prisoners. Their commander, General Macartney, refused to survive his disgrace by flying or taking quarter. He was taken, covered with wounds, and only ceasing to fight because he was unable to stand. The sole fear he expressed, was, lest none of his wounds should prove mortal.

COULD history confine herself to the recital of glorious actions alone, Fate of the garrison.

* Walker, p. 36.

† Hamilton.

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1689.

her pictures would for ever be pleasing: But, if she pursues them to their conclusions, the sad lot of humanity often tears down the beautiful trophies she has reared. The regiments, having consented to continue in service, were modelled * by the unfeeling Kirk: He reduced many of the officers; some he degraded to lower ranks; and filled the places of both with dependants he had brought with him from England. Instead of keeping these bands of friends together, he draughted one half of the men, and transferred them to regiments in which their actions and their virtues were known. From the brave Murray, under pretence of the necessity of service, he took the war-horse, which had so often carried him into the ranks of the enemy. Walker, having been sent over with the news to the King, was rewarded with money, not with rank in life, which the high-minded covet far more than gold. This man was afterwards killed at the battle of the Boyne: When the King was told of it, he is reported to have said, "Fool that he was, what had he to do there?" Words which dishonoured the living, not the dead! By a partiality inseparable from all free governments, because government itself depends often on those whom it commands, no higher punishment was inflicted upon Lundie for betraying Richards and Cunninghame, than upon those officers whose only crime was that they had been betrayed. All three were dismissed the service: A punishment too small for him, too great for them!

May 7.
James as-
sembles the
Irish parlia-
ment.

In the mean time, James had assembled his Irish parliament at Dublin. Only six protestants were returned to the house of commons; and of the protestant peers, only five Lords and four Bishops gave their attendance. His speech to the parliament, and some of his public papers, were full of compliments to the Irish papists and the French, and of complaints against his English subjects: Topicks which he might have avoided without offence to the former, but which were of all others the most galling to the latter; because the one roused an old jealousy, the other gave a new provocation. By proposing too in his speech to pass laws for the advancement of trade, and the aggrandizing of

* M'Kenzie, p. 47.

the nation, he appeared to the English to have formed a system for abolishing the dependence of Ireland upon England, and for creating a rivalry in commerce and empire between the two nations. The parliament drew up two addresses, one of loyalty to James, the other of thanks to Lewis XIV. And they passed an act, which asserted the independency of the Irish parliament, and courts of justice, upon those of England: Measures which were only wanting, to make him completely unpopular in England *.

Two acts were passed in this assembly, which seemed to have been framed by madmen. The one revoked the act of settlement; the other was an act of attainder. By the act of settlement, the lands forfeited for the rebellion, which began in the year 1641, had been vested in those who, upon a solemn trial and examination, had proved they had right to them. The settlement had been confirmed by two acts of parliament, and by sundry patents from the two late Kings. The Lords Lieutenant had declared to the parliaments, and the judges at their circuits to the counties, the resolution of those princes to support it. The new proprietors had reared buildings, and made improvements, and third parties had purchased, lent money, and entered into marriage-articles, upon the faith of the act of settlement. By accident, most of the lands had passed from their original proprietors, who had been papists and in rebellion, into the hands of protestants. The posterity of the first proprietors, therefore, now brought a bill into parliament, for revoking the act of settlement, and restoring the estates to the heirs of their antient proprietors. The motion was received with an huzza, and the bill passed in an instant. Provision was made in the act, that restitution of the purchase-money should be made to the present proprietors out of the estates of King William's adherents: A provision which, had it taken place, must have entailed division and discord upon Ireland for ever! This act drove the protestants, two thirds of whose land-estates it took from them, to despair: It hurt even sundry Roman catholics who had become purchasers, and alarmed the minds of all men with fears concerning the security of property. James gave ten thousand pounds a

Irish parliament revokes the act of settlement.

* The public papers are in Ralph.

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BOOK II.

1689.

And frames
a cruel bill of
attainder.

year out of his own estates, to make some reparation to the unhappy sufferers. But in this action people did not so much observe his humanity, as his consciousness of the injustice of the law he had passed.

Other conduct of parliament.

THE act of attainder was still more unjust and unpolitic: Near 3000 persons were forfeited by it; among whom were two Archbishops, one Duke, 17 Earls, 7 Countesses, 28 Viscounts, 2 Viscountesses, 7 Bishops, 18 Barons, 33 Baronets, 51 Knights, 83 Clergymen; the rest were Gentlemen. The attainder comprehended many whose constant residence was in Britain, and whose rebellion was only inferred from their not having returned to Ireland, when James issued a proclamation, ordering all his Irish subjects to leave England: An order which it was impossible for them to obey, because there was an embargo between the two kingdoms. The estates of all those who were detained in Britain by sickness, non-age, or other incapacities, were vested in the crown until their proprietors should bring proof of their loyalty: A regulation the most extraordinary in the records of mankind! because it inflicted a punishment, not because guilt was proved, but until innocence was shown. By these two acts, almost the whole land-property of the protestants was swept off. This parliament passed an act in favour of liberty of conscience: But they made two others attend it; one enacting that all tithes payable by papists should be paid to popish priests; the other, that the stipends for the support of protestant ministers in the towns should cease: So that the pastors of that communion were every where deprived of their maintenance*.

Exercise of government in Ireland.

THE exercise of government corresponded with such laws. Although the French professed themselves willing at all times to send troops and stores of war to James, they continually refused † to advance him money. Hence, when the parliament gave him a tax of L. 20,000 a month, upon real estates, he found himself under a necessity to levy, by authority of his own proclamation, L. 20,000 more upon personal estates; and to coin brass money, which he caus-

* Archbishop King.

† This is confirmed by the Irish papers in the Paper-office.

ed to pass, by another proclamation, at fourteen times its value, for a million Sterling. The abuse of office continually attends the poverty of kings : The protestants finding it necessary to purchase protections against the Raparees, a species of popish banditti, from the officers of the army to whom the care of the peace was committed, the protections were sold at extravagant rates ; and the officers were often changed, to afford new pretences for the renewal of the protections. The rates of goods, which were needed for public service, having been fixed by proclamation, James's officers, who had the charge of bringing them in, and who were all popish, took them mostly from protestant owners, and made their payments mostly in the base coin. The transition is rapid from the abuse of office to the violation of the law itself : All the schools were taken from protestant teachers ; the members of the university were turned out ; the bishopricks kept vacant, and their profits bestowed upon popish priests ; the protestant churches were seized by papists where-ever they had power, under the pretence that these had been originally the property of their ancestors ; and to crown all, the protestants, notwithstanding the act for liberty of conscience, were forbidden, by proclamation, to assemble in churches or elsewhere, under pain of death.

JAMES opposed sundry of these violent measures, but in vain : The protestants having called upon him in different applications to preserve his faith, and to give them that protection he had often promised, he was reduced to the cruel alternative of submitting to the imputation of breaking his word, or to the mortification of confessing his inability to keep it. Every-day made him sensible how weak is the condition of a prince, whose subjects can reproach him with their services. The house of commons having opposed him in a particular measure : " I see," said he, " all commons are " the same : " Words marking equally the depth of past resentment and of present uneasiness ! The same house having sent him a remonstrance against the secretary of state, Lord Melfort, James answered, " I would not have come amongst you, if I had known you " would not have allowed me to chuse my own servants." The jarring of the French and Irish factions too tormented him.

James's own
conduct.

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1689.

They had formed themselves into two regular parties in the court and the camp; they injured his service by obstructing each other, and took all importance from him by assuming it to themselves. He grew at last peevish and dejected: and, in a nation which was then the most disorderly in Europe, allowed every thing to run its own natural course of confusion. The Irish catholics called this confusion, independence upon England; and his French auxiliaries accounted the miseries of neighbouring countries to be the happiness of their own. In one instance, however, he resumed the monarch against the suggestions of both *: For the commons having passed a bill for the reversal of Poyning's act, which makes the statutes passed in Ireland to be dependent, for their authority, upon the privy council of England, James sent an order to stop it, and is reported to have said, "I will not hurt my kingdom, although I no longer reign in it."

Dundee's exploits.

May 1.

THE fury of civil war was not confined to Ireland: As soon as the news of James's arrival in that country was brought into Scotland, the impetuous Lord Dundee hastened to Inverness, upon receiving intelligence that a quarrel about a debt had arisen between the town's people, and some of the clans of Lochaber, and that these clans were assembled in arms in the neighbourhood of the town. He conferred at first with the chiefs on each side, separately, in private: And then, having convened all in public, he loaded them with reproaches, "That they, who were all equally friends to King James, were preparing, at a time when he most needed their friendship, to draw those daggers against each other, which ought to be plunged only into the breasts of his enemies.†" He then paid the debt in dispute with his own money, and prevailed upon most of those, who had so lately stood under opposite banners, to enlist under his own. He insinuated to the highland chieftains, on the borders of the Earl of Argyle's country, upon some of whose estates the Earl had old claims in law, and others of whom had got grants of part of his estate from the crown, when he was attainted, "That new governments produced new favours and new laws: Weak would

* Archbishop King, Story. † General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs, written by himself.

“be their interest at court, and in courts of justice, against a competitor who had done so much to place the crown upon the head of the new King.” Lord Athole, Lord Tarbet, and Lord Breadalbane, men of great power in the North, were prevailed upon * to give him no disturbance: the two first, because they thought themselves neglected by the new government; the last, to make himself necessary to it. Dundee had friends † in the privy-council, who suggested advices which were given by himself, and gave him intelligence of every resolution that was formed against his measures: He even secretly gained ‡ some officers of the regiments which he knew were to be sent against him.

FROM Inverness he marched with incredible swiftness through different parts of the highlands, to rouse the highlanders to arms, and to disperse the militia which were raised against him. His force, small at first, increased as he marched along, till it amounted to six thousand men. Lord Murray, son of Lord Athole, had raised 1000 men upon his father's estate, and that of Lord Lovat, who was married to his sister, under an assurance given them || of serving the late King; but in reality to make them serviceable to the new government. This body Lord Dundee now carried off with him; a desertion from two of their own chieftains, unknown before among highlanders! but it arose partly from their admiration of Dundee, and partly from their indignation against Lord Murray's breach of faith to themselves. While Murray was reviewing them, they quitted their ranks, ran to an adjoining brook, filled their bonnets with water, drank to King James's health, and, with pipes playing, marched off to Lord Dundee. Simon Fraser §, afterwards Lord Lovat, who fifty-eight years after this period, lost his head on Tower-hill, for his adherence to the cause of the house of Stuart, was the person, then a youth, and a cadet of the Lovat family, who managed this revolt. General M'Kay was sent after Dundee with a force nearly equal in number to his own: But there was this dif-

* General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

|| Lord Lovat's manuscript memoirs, written by himself.

§ Ibid.

ference between the two, that M'Kay's regular troops served for pay; Dundee's irregulars were incited by the love of war.

To mark the singular features of singular characters, is one of the chief provinces of history. Dundee had inflamed his mind from his earliest youth, by the perusal of antient poets, historians, and orators, with the love of the great actions they praise and describe. He is reported to have inflamed it still more, by listening to the antient songs of the highland bards. He entered into the profession of arms with an opinion, that he ought to know the services of different nations, and the duties of different ranks: With this view, he went into several foreign services; and when he could not obtain a command, served as a volunteer. At the battle of Seneffe, he saved the Prince of Orange's life. Soon after, he asked one of the Scotch regiments in the Dutch service. The Prince being pre-engaged, refused his request. Upon this, he quitted the Dutch service, saying, "The foldier who has not gratitude cannot be brave." His reputation, and his services against the covenanters, obtained him a regiment from Charles II. and a peerage and high command in the army for his successor. In his exploits against these men, his behaviour had been sullied by the imputation of cruelty: He excused himself by saying, "That, if terror ended or prevented war, it was true mercy."

DUNDEE had orders from his master not to fight M'Kay, until a large force which was promised from Ireland should join him: Hence he was kept during two months, cooped up in the mountains, furious from restraint. He was obliged continually to shift his quarters by prodigious marches, in order to avoid, or harraß his enemy's army, to obtain provisions, and sometimes to take advantages*: The first messenger of his approach, was generally his own army in fight: The first intelligence of his retreat, brought accounts, that he was already out of his enemy's reach. In some of those marches†, his men wanted bread, salt, and all liquors, except water, during several weeks; yet were ashamed to complain, when they observed, that their commander lived not more

* M'Kay's MS.

† Dundee's memoirs.

delicately than themselves. If any thing good was brought him to eat, he sent it to a faint or sick soldier: If a soldier was weary, he offered to carry his arms. He kept those who were with him from sinking under their fatigues, not so much by exhortation, as by preventing them from attending to their sufferings. For this reason he walked on foot with the men; now by the side of one clan, and anon by that of another: He amused them with jokes: He flattered them with his knowledge of their genealogies: He animated them by a recital of the deeds of their ancestors, and of the verses of their bards. It was one of his maxims, that no general should fight with an irregular army, unless he was acquainted with every man he commanded. Yet, with these habits of familiarity, the severity of his discipline was dreadful: The only punishment he inflicted was death: "All other punishments," he said, "disgraced a gentleman, and all who were with him were of that rank; but that death was a relief from the consciousness of crime." It is reported of him, that, having seen a youth fly in his first action, he pretended he had sent him to the rear on a message: The youth fled a second time: He brought him to the front of the army, and saying, "That a gentleman's son ought not to fall by the hands of a common executioner," shot him with his own pistol.

THE army he commanded was mostly composed of highlanders from the interior parts of the highlands: A people untouched by the Roman or Saxon invasions on the South, and by those of the Danes on the East and West skirts of their country: The unmixed remains of that Celtic empire, which once stretched from the pillars of Hercules to Archangel. As the manners of this race of men were, in the days of our fathers, the most singular in Europe, and, in those of our sons, may be found, no where but in the records of history, it is proper here to describe them.

THE highlanders were composed of a number of tribes called *Clans*, each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the lands of a different chieftain. The members of every tribe were tied one to another, not only by the feudal, but by the patriarchal bond:

Manners of
the high-
landers, with
their causes.

For, while the individuals which composed it were vassals or tenants of their own hereditary chieftain, they were also all descended from his family, and could count exactly the degree of their descent: And the right of primogeniture, together with the weakness of the laws to reach inaccessible countries, and more inaccessible men, had, in the revolution of centuries, converted these natural principles of connection between the chieftain and his people, into the most sacred ties of human life*. The castle of the chieftain was a kind of palace, to which every man of his tribe was made welcome, and where he was entertained according to his station, in time of peace, and to which all flocked at the sound of war. Thus the meanest of the clan, knowing himself to be as well-born as the head of it, revered in his chieftain his own honour; loved in his clan his own blood; complained not of the difference of station into which fortune

* It was the junction of the feudal and patriarchal authority, passing by the right of primogeniture from chieftain to chieftain, in a narrow country, and where the divisions of land-property were ascertained, which has distinguished the highland tribes from all others known in the history of mankind. The Hebrews had tribes founded on the connection of relation; but the patriarchal idea was soon lost in the want of a successive patriarch, and the love of the tribe in the too great number of individuals who composed it. The Greeks and Romans had tribes; but the only lines by which they were distinguished, were the quarters of the city in which they happened to live. The ancient Germans had tribes in their own country; but these were associations of fellow-soldiers under a commander they chose, not of relations, under a common head of the family, to whom their obedience was thought due. The ancient Scythians and modern Tartars were divided into tribes of relations; but, as they continually shifted their habitations, they wanted those arts of life and civilization, which are connected with the establishment of property in land, and with the regular transition of it from father to son. None of the barbarous bands, which made violent settlements in the Roman provinces, when that empire fell, had names common to the individuals of the band; because they were parts of nations, and not of families. The Irish had tribes, distinguished by a common name born by the individuals, and connected by a common relation; but the rule of Tanistry in succession, which gave the election of the heir to the Lord, broke all reverence for primogeniture, and was a continual source of discord among the members. The native Americans live in tribes, in a manner resembling the patriarchal life; but while, from their common relation, every member is bound to another, the whole, from the want of the feudal subordination, and from the excessive independence of individuals, are not bound to one head.

had thrown him, and respected himself: The chieftain in return bestowed a protection, founded equally on gratitude, and the consciousness of his own interest. Hence the highlanders, whom more savage nations called Savage, carried, in the outward expression of their manners, the politeness of courts without their vices, and, in their bosoms, the high point of honour without its follies.

PART II.
BOOK II.

1689.

IN countries where the surface is rugged, and the climate uncertain, there is little room for the use of the plough; and, where no coal is to be found, and few provisions can be raised, there is still less for that of the anvil and shuttle. As the highlanders were, upon these accounts, excluded from extensive agriculture and manufacture alike, every family raised just as much grain, and made as much rayment as sufficed for itself; and nature, whom art cannot force, destined them to the life of shepherds. Hence, they had not that excess of industry which reduces man to a machine, nor that total want of it which sinks him into a rank of animals below his own.

THEY lived in villages built in vallies and by the sides of rivers. At two seasons of the year, they were busy; the one in the end of spring and beginning of summer, when they put the plough into the little land they had capable of receiving it, sowed their grain, and laid in their provision of turf for the winter's fuel; the other, just before winter, when they reaped their harvest: The rest of the year was all their own for amusement or for war. If not engaged in war, they indulged themselves in summer in the most delicious of all pleasures, to men in a cold climate and a romantic country, the enjoyment of the sun, and of the summer-views of nature; never in the house during the day, even sleeping often at night in the open air, among the mountains and woods. They spent the winter in the chase, while the sun was up; and, in the evening, assembling round a common fire, they entertained themselves with the song, the tale, and the dance: But they were ignorant of sitting days and nights at games of skill or of hazard, amusements which keep the body in inaction, and the mind in a state of vicious activity!

THE want of a good, and even of a fine ear for music, was almost unknown amongst them; because it was kept in continual practice, among the multitude from passion, but by the wiser few, because they knew that the love of music both heightened the courage, and softened the tempers of their people. Their vocal music was plaintive, even to the depth of melancholy; their instrumental either lively for brisk dances, or martial for the battle. Some of their tunes even contained the great, but natural, idea of a history described in music: The joys of a marriage, the noise of a quarrel, the sounding to arms, the rage of a battle, the broken disorder of a flight, the whole concluding with the solemn dirge and lamentation for the slain. By the loudness and artificial jarring of their war instrument, the bag-pipe, which played continually during the action, their spirits were exalted to a phrenzy of courage in battle.

THEY joined the pleasures of history and poetry to those of music, and the love of classical learning to both. For, in order to cherish high sentiments in the minds of all, every considerable family had a historian who recounted, and a bard who sung, the deeds of the clan, and of its chieftain: And all, even the the lowest in station were sent to school in their youth; partly because they had nothing else to do at that age, and partly because literature, was thought the distinction, not the want of it the mark, of good birth.

THE severity of their climate, the height of their mountains, the distance of their villages from each other, their love of the chase and of war, with their desire to visit and be visited, forced them to great bodily exertions. The vastness of the objects which surrounded them, lakes, mountains, rocks, cataracts, extended and elevated their minds: For they were not in the state of men who only know the way from one market-town to another. Their want of regular occupation led them, like the ancient Spartans, to contemplation, and the powers of conversation: Powers which they exerted in striking out the original thoughts which nature suggested; not in languidly repeating those which they had learned from other people.

THEY valued themselves, without undervaluing other nations. They loved to quit their own country to see and to hear, adopted easily the manners of others, and were attentive and insinuating where-ever they went : But they loved more to return home, to repeat what they had observed ; and, among other things, to relate with astonishment, that they had been in the midst of great societies, where every individual made his sense of independence to consist in keeping at a distance from another. Yet they did not think themselves entitled to hate or despise the manners of strangers, because these differed from their own. For they revered the great qualities of other nations ; and only made their failings the subject of an inoffensive merriment.

WHEN strangers came amongst them, they received them, not with a ceremony which forbids a second visit, not with a coldness which causes repentance of the first, not with an embarrassment which leaves both the landlord and his guest in equal misery, but with the most pleasing of all politeness, the simplicity and cordiality of affection ; proud to give that hospitality which they had not received, and to humble the persons who had thought of them with contempt, by shewing how little they deserved it.

HAVING been driven from the low countries of Scotland by invasion, they, from time immemorial, thought themselves intitled to make reprisals upon the property of their invaders ; but they touched not that of each other : So that, in the same men, there appeared, to those who did not look into the causes of things, a strange mixture of vice and of virtue. For, what we call theft and rapine, they termed right and justice. But, from the practice of these reprisals, they acquired the habits of being enterprizing, artful, and bold.

AN injury done to one of a clan, was held to be an injury done to all, on account of the common relation of blood. Hence the highlanders were in the habitual practice of war : And hence their attachment to their chieftain, and to each other, was founded upon

the two most active principles of human nature, love of their friends, and resentment against their enemies.

BUT the frequency of war tempered its ferocity. They bound up the wounds of their prisoners, while they neglected their own; and in the person of an enemy, respected and pitied the stranger.

THEY went always completely armed: A fashion, which by accustoming them to the instruments of death, removed the fear of death itself; and which, from the danger of provocation, made the common people as polite, and as guarded in their behaviour, as the gentry of other countries.

FROM these combined circumstances, the higher ranks and the lower ranks of the highlanders alike, joined that refinement of sentiment, which, in all other nations, is peculiar to the former, to that strength and hardiness of body, which, in other countries, is possessed only by the latter.

To be modest as well as brave; to be contented with the few things which nature requires; to act and to suffer without complaining; to be as much ashamed of doing any thing insolent or injurious to others, as of bearing it when done to themselves; and to die with pleasure, to revenge the affronts offered to their clan or their country: These they accounted their highest accomplishments.

THEIR christianity was strongly tinged with traditions derived from the antient bards of their country: For they were believers in ghosts: They marked the appearances of the heavens; and, by the forms of the clouds, which in their variable climate were continually shifting, were induced to guess at present, and to predict future events; and they even thought, that to some men the divinity had communicated a portion of his own prescience, From this mixture of system, they did not enter much into disputes concerning the particular modes of christianity; but every man followed, with indifference of sentiment, the mode which his

chieftain had assumed. Perhaps, to the same cause it is owing, that their country is the only one in Europe, into which persecution never entered.

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BOOK II.

1689.

THEIR dress, which was the last remains of the Roman habit in Europe, was well suited to the nature of their country, and still better to the necessities of war. It consisted of a roll of light woollen, called a plaid, six yards in length, and two in breadth, wrapped loosely around the body, the upper lappet of which rested on the left shoulder, leaving the right arm at full liberty; a jacket of thick cloth, fitted tightly to the body; and a loose short garment of light woollen, which went round the waist and covered the thigh. In rain, they formed the plaid into folds, and, laying it on the shoulders, were covered as with a roof. When they were obliged to lie abroad in the hills, in their hunting parties, or tending their cattle, or in war, the plaid served them both for bed and for covering; for, when three men slept together, they could spread three folds of cloth below, and six above them. The garters of their stockings were tied under the knee, with a view to give more freedom to the limb; and they wore no breeches, that they might climb mountains with the greater ease. The lightness and looseness of their dress, the custom they had of going always on foot, never on horseback, their love of long journeys, but above all, that patience of hunger, and every kind of hardship, which carried their bodies forward, even after their spirits were exhausted, made them exceed all other European nations in speed and perseverance of march. Montrose's marches * were sometimes sixty miles in a day, without food or halting, over mountains, along rocks, through morasses. In encampments, they were expert at forming beds in a moment, by tying together bunches of heath, and fixing them upright in the ground: An art, which, as the beds were both soft and dry, preserved their health in the field, when other soldiers lost theirs.

Their dress,
armour, and
manner of
war.

THEIR arms were a broad sword, a dagger, called a durk, a target, a musket, and two pistols: So that they carried the long

* Bishop Wishart.

sword of the Celtes, the pugio of the Romans, the shield of the ancients, and both kinds of modern fire arms, altogether. In battle, they threw away the plaid and under garment, and fought in their jackets, making thus their movements quicker, and their strokes more forcible. Their advance to battle was rapid, like the charge of dragoons: When near the enemy, they stopped a little to draw breath and discharge their muskets, which they then dropped on the ground: Advancing, they fired their pistols, which they threw, almost at the same instant, against the heads of their opponents: And then rushed into their ranks with the broad sword, threatening, and shaking the sword as they ran on, so as to conquer the enemy's eye, while his body was yet unhurt. They fought, not in long and regular lines, but in separate bands, like wedges condensed and firm; the army being ranged according to the clans which composed it, and each clan according to its families; so that there arose a competition in valour of clan with clan, of family with family, of brother with brother. To make an opening in regular troops, and to conquer, they reckoned the same thing; because in close engagements, and in broken ranks, no regular troops could withstand them. They received the bayonet in the target, which they carried on the left arm; then turning it aside, or twisting it in the target, they attacked with the broad sword the enemy incumbered and defenceless; and, where they could not wield the broad sword, they stabbed with the durk. The only foes they dreaded* were cavalry; to which many causes contributed: The novelty of the enemy; their want of the bayonet to receive the shock of horse; the attack made upon them with their own weapon, the broad sword; the size of dragoon horses appearing larger to them, from a comparison with those of their country; but above all, a belief entertained universally among the lower class of highlanders, that a war-horse is taught to fight with his feet and his teeth.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these advantages, the victories of the highlanders have always been more honourable for themselves, than of consequence to others. A river stopped them, because they were

* M'Kay's manuscript.

unaccustomed to swim : A fort had the same effect, because they knew not the science of attack : They wanted cannon, carriages, and magazines, from their poverty and ignorance in the arts : They spoke an unknown language ; and therefore could derive their resources only from themselves. Although their respect for their chieftains gave them, as long as they continued in the field, that exact habit of obedience, which only the excessive rigour of discipline can secure over other troops ; yet, as soon as the victory was gained, they accounted their duty, which was to conquer, fulfilled, and ran many of them home to recount their feats, and store up their plunder ; and, in spring and harvest, more were obliged to retire, or leave their women and children to die of famine : Their chieftains too were apt to separate from the army, upon quarrels and points of honour among themselves and with others.

AFTER Dundee had been obliged to lose the first, and therefore best opportunities of action, the long expected succour arrived from Ireland in the end of June ; and consisted of no more than 500 raw and spiritless recruits, without provisions and ammunition. He received at the same time intelligence, that M'Kay was marching through Athole, to attack the castle of Blair, then in the hands of one of James's adherents. Dundee foresaw, that the loss of this place would cut off the communication betwixt the two divisions of the highlands, in which his own strength chiefly lay ; and therefore he resolved to give battle. He marched south towards Athole, with his army considerably diminished ; because many of his men had retired to their homes to provide their winter's fuel.

Succours sent
to Dundee
from Ireland.

He marches
to Killi-
kranky.

AT the castle of Blair he learned, that M'Kay, who, with his foot, and a few horse, lay encamped at Dunkeld, was to advance next day through the pass of Killikranky, and that the rest of his horse were to follow him in a day or two after. This pass consists of an open road, in a line nearly streight, about two miles in length, where not more than six or eight men could at that time go abreast. On the right are mountains that seem to rise to the skies : On the left, a precipice hanging over a

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BOOK II.

1689.

Is dissuaded
from fight-
ing;

yet resolves
upon it.
His reasons.

deep and black river : On the opposite side of the river is a prodigious mountain, covered to the top with waving woods, across which eagles and other wild birds are continually flying and screaming. Dundee was pressed by his officers to dispute the passage with M'Kay, from the superiority of his situation, but refused it. In public, he took advantage of an opinion prevailing from the most ancient times among the highlanders, that it is dishonourable to attack an enemy at a disadvantage; and cried out, "He thought not so meanly of his followers, as to believe they had degenerated from the generous maxims of their ancestors." But, in private, he assigned reasons, wise and well weighed, for rejecting the advice. He reasoned, "To defend the pass, a thing indeed easily effectuated, was only to delay the war, and to detain themselves prisoners in places where they had been already kept too long in confinement. With most ease, in open fields, the impetuosity of the highlanders shock was to be exerted. Six successive battles gained by Montrose, ensured the event of next day. To allow the enemy to pass over to fair ground, inspired a generous confidence into his own men, but would fill their opponents with a suspicion of the secret cause of it. What better terms could be asked, by an army for a general action, than unfatigued, and on their own ground, to receive an enemy, who had fourteen miles to march the same day that he fought, and who was ignorant of the ground that was to be left him to occupy? The terms of defeat were unequal: For to him, retreat was easy; but to the enemy, retreat and ruin were the same: Entangled in the pass, the stronger would push the weaker over the precipices in their flight, and all must fall a defenceless prey to his victorious army pursuing behind: Even at the other end of the pass*, he had sent orders to his friends in Athole, to watch and fall upon the few who should escape. If a decisive action was delayed for a few days, the rest of M'Kay's horse would have time to come up; an enemy the more terrible to highlanders, because they were conscious it was the only one they feared."

* M'Kay's manuscript.

THE night before the battle, Dundee having reflected, that the highlanders had not been tried in general actions since the battle of Philiphaugh, which had been fought 40 years before, and being desirous to put their courage to the test, gave an alarm, and caused a false attack to be made upon his own camp. In an instant, he found every man at his post, and firm in it. The event of the stratagem removed the diffidence of the general, and confirmed the confidence of the soldiers.

PART II.
BOOK II.

1689.

He tries his
army.

M'KAY's army, * after marching from Dunkeld in the morning of the 16th of July, and resting two hours at the mouth of the pass, began to enter it about mid-day. The soldiers marched through with awe at every step, impressed with the grandeur and novelty of the scene, even with the silence all around them, which seemed the forerunner of danger, and with the consciousness of their own inability to give assistance to each other, in case they were attacked. They advanced into the open field at the end of the pass with slowness and caution, deriving fear from that very security which was offered them; and at last observed Dundee's army resting upon the side of a mountain opposite to them, in one line, but a short one, because his men were fewer in number than M'Kay's, and lay thick upon the ground. But their numbers appeared greater than they were; because, though there were vacancies along the line, occasioned by spots of wood spread here and there upon the mountain; yet the imaginations of M'Kay's soldiers filled all these vacancies with enemies. Dundee had chosen this station; because, while the bushes concealed his own motions and numbers, it gave him an opportunity of observing those of his enemies †, secured him from the attacks of cavalry, gave violence to his charge if he descended upon the enemy, and made retreat, if retreat was needful, easy to men who could fly over mountains with a speed which no regular troops could equal: And he resolved not to fight until near sunset, with a view, that, if he gained the victory, he might give a dreadful completion during the night; and, if he was defeated, that he might retire without the

Battle of
Killikranky.

* M'Kay's manuscript.

† Ibid.

fear of pursuit. M'Kay, having observed the position of his enemy*, formed the troops which advanced foremost into the open field, into a line of three men deep; and lengthened the line along the field, as more troops arrived successively from the mouth of the pass, partly with a view to outflank Dundee, whose line he saw was short, and partly to prevent surprize, by making all the ground known to his army. He continued in this position two hours, to consider what to do, and what to expect; and, in the mean time, the two armies continued looking on each other. At the end of that time M'Kay, suspecting Dundee's intention to take advantage of the night, and afraid to encamp in a place surrounded with enemies, used various means to provoke the highlanders to an engagement, but in vain. But Dundee observing, that, by the position of the two armies, his own might be outflanked, and so be defeated even whilst it was defeating, took advantage of his situation to make what motions he pleased without their being known: He detached his clans into separate bodies, removed them to the right and the left, but in thick order, leaving thus his centre weak, and, half an hour before sunset, rushed down from his station, and began the attack, by columns, upon the wings of the enemy, with a view that, whether his own centre was broken, or his wings broke those of his opponents, the battle might equally become irregular, and be decided hand to hand, not by the regularity of musquetry. Montrose carried the battle of Alderne by the very same disposition! All Dundee's views succeeded: His thick columns pierced easily through the thin files of the regiments, pressed on the sides those who stood, turning round met in the front those who were giving way, and almost in an instant, hurried the enemy off the field. One regiment and the half of another, which were in the centre, not daring to advance, saved themselves by declining to be victorious in the post where they were placed. They alone retreated: The rest fled. Lord Dundee, who had been the foremost on foot in the attack, was the foremost on horseback in the pursuit. Deeming the flight of the enemy to be nothing, unless even escape was rendered impossible, he pressed on for the mouth of the pass, to cut off their retreat. In a little time, he perceived he had out-run his men; he stopped; he waved his arm in the air to make

* M'Kay's manuscript.

them hasten their speed; and pointed his hand to the pass, as if he already grasped it. Being conspicuous in person and action, he was observed, and a musket-ball aimed at him found entrance in an opening of his armour beneath his arm-pit, occasioned by the elevation of his arm. He rode off the field, desiring his mischance to be concealed, and fainting, dropped from his horse: As soon as he recovered, he desired to be raised, looked to the field *, and asked, "How things went? Being told, "All was well." "Then," said he, "I am well," and expired. The highlanders falling in with the English baggage, gave over the pursuit, and betook themselves to plundering. By this accident, most of M'Kay's army got safely through the pass. Yet not above 200 of them arrived at Stirling in a body with their general. In the battle, 2000 were killed, and 500 taken prisoners: Many of the fugitives were also killed or taken prisoners by the Athole men, whom Lord Dundee had, the day before, ordered to be in readiness at the south end of the pass: The rest dispersed. M'Kay, not daring to return through the pass, was saved by taking his way through the mountains to the west of it. Having stopped upon the first height that commanded the prospect of the field and the pass, he looked back, and, when he saw no pursuit †, said to those around him, that he was sure the enemy had lost their general. The express which was sent to Edinburgh from the field of battle, with an account of the defeat, was detained by an accident a day upon the road. When this circumstance was related to King William, he said, "Then, Dundee must be dead, for otherwise he would have been at Edinburgh before the express." The highlanders, according to the custom of their country, raised a great stone upon the spot in which Dundee fell, where it remains to this day.

PART II.
BOOK II.

1689.

Dundee's
death.

A letter was found in Dundee's pocket from Lord Mellfort, then the late King's secretary of state in Ireland ‡, which imported, that a declaration of indemnity and toleration, then preparing, was couched in such terms, that James could break through it when he pleased: Sentiments which made death the more painful to those who were dying for his cause.

* Granger's Hist. Biogr. Vol. II. p. 508.

† General M'Kay's manuscript.

‡ Lord Balcarras.

WILLIAM paid a high compliment to the memory of Dundee: When he was advised to send a great body of troops to Scotland, after the defeat of Killikranky, he said, "It was needless, the war ended with Dundee's life." The observation was just: For tho' the highland army descended into the low countries of Scotland, under the generals Buchan and Cannon, and were engaged in several actions; yet these actions were indecisive, and, after two languid campaigns, a peace was concluded. The castle of Edinburgh had been surrendered some time before, by the Duke of Gordon, whom the superiority of Dundee's genius was no longer at hand to direct. But the Duke, in the manner of his surrender, preserved the dignity of his rank and of his ancestors. He said "he had so much confidence in all the descendants of James I. that, though he must insist on a pardon for his garrison, he would stipulate no terms for himself." Upon the peace with the highlanders, the common men retired to their homes, but many of their officers were, in consequence of a capitulation, landed in France.

Fate of Dundee's officers.

ALTHOUGH the fate which attended those officers in France falls beyond the period of time to which these memoirs are confined, a digression will perhaps be pardoned, that describes adventures, which were worthy of the happiest days of Athens or Sparta. The officers were 150 in number, all of honourable birth, attached to their chieftains and to each other, in their political principles only to blame, yet glorying in them. Upon their arrival in France, pensions were assigned them by the French King: But, upon the conclusion of the civil war, these pensions were withdrawn; because the object no longer existed for which they had been given. Finding themselves, therefore, a load upon the late King, whose finances could scarcely suffice for himself, they petitioned that Prince, for leave to form themselves into a company of private centinels, asking no other favour, than that they might be permitted to chuse their own officers. James assented. They repaired to St. Germain, to be reviewed by him, before they were modelled in the French army. A few days after they came, they posted themselves in accoutrements borrowed from a French regiment, and drawn up in order, in a place through which he was to pass, as he went to the

chace; an amusement of which he became passionately fond, after the loss of his kingdom. He asked who they were? and was surprised to find, they were the same men, with whom, in garbs better suited to their ranks, he had the day before conversed at his levee. Struck with the levity of his own amusement, contrasted with the misery of those who were suffering for him, he returned pensive to the palace. The day he reviewed them, he passed along the ranks, wrote in his pocket-book, with his own hand, every gentleman's name, and gave him his thanks in particular; and then removing to the front, bowed to the body, with his hat off. After he had gone away, still thinking honour enough was not done them, he returned, bowed again, but burst into tears. The body kneeled, bent their heads and eyes stedfast upon the ground; and then starting up at once, passed him with the usual honours of war, as if it was only a common review they were exhibiting. They were sent from thence to the frontiers of Spain, a march of 900 miles, on foot. Wherever they passed, they were received with tears by the women, with respect by some of the men, but with laughter at the awkwardness of their situation by most of them. They were always the foremost in battle, and the last in retreat. Of all the troops in the service, they were the most obedient to orders. Twice only they disobeyed: The first time was at the siege of * Roses; where they had fallen into diseases, and been ordered to quit the camp for their recovery; but they delayed to obey, until they had sent a remonstrance to Marshal Noailles, against what they termed an affront. The second instance of their inattention to orders, was upon the following occasion: The Germans had made a lodgement in an island in the Rhine: The French, from an opinion that the river was impassable without boats, had ordered a number for the passage: Among other troops intended for the service, this company was ordered to keep a station opposite to the island, until the boats should arrive: But finding, upon examination, the ford, though difficult, not impassable, they, according to the custom of highlanders in wading thro' rivers, joining their hands together, and entering the river in a line with its current, the strongest men in the upper part, and the weaker in the under, so that those, who were

* Account of Dundee's officers.

highest up [the stream, broke all its force, and [tying their arms and cloaths on their shoulders, passed to the island in sight of both armies on the opposite banks, and drove ten times their number from the lodgement. The French cried out in admiration, "A gentleman, in whatever station, is still a gentleman." "Le gentilhome, est toujours gentilhome." The place is called *l'Isle d'Ecosse* to this day.

ALL collective human virtues are sullied with the selfishness of individuals. The officers, to whom they had yielded their independence, and whom they had chosen to command their equals, cheated them of their pay, poor as it was, of their cloaths, and of presents which the generous had sent them. The French, inattentive to their patience, fatigues, and services, sent them from the frontiers of Spain to Alsace, a march as long as the former. In this route, their cloaths fell to tatters: After they passed Lyons, the country was covered with snow: They often wanted the necessaries of life: Yet no complaints were heard amongst them, except for the sufferings of him whom they accounted their Sovereign. After six years service, they were broke, when the peace was concluded, on the higher part of the Rhine, 1500 miles from their homes, and without any provision made for them. At that time, only sixteen of them had survived the fate of their companions; and of these only four arrived in Scotland, to give warning, by their example, to their countrymen, though, to too many of them, in vain, to distrust for ever the promises and flatteries of France*.

* There are men now living in Scotland who were acquainted with some of the four.

B O O K I I I.

DISCONTENTS in the House of Commons.—Clamours of the Merchants.—Continuation of Discontents.—Divisions between the Houses.—The Whigs renew their Attacks on the Tories.—Breach in the Royal Family.—Two Laws of Political OEconomy.—Discontents in Scotland, and Causes of them.—The King's Grand Scheme, for gaining the Scotch, disappointed.—An Opposition in the Scottish Parliament.—Arts to irritate the Members.—They present a Remonstrance.—Fruitless Attempts to pacify them.

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1689.

WHILE the late King, in attempting to recover his dominions, found himself reduced, even by his successes, to a state of dependence upon his Irish subjects, and was stung with the reflection, that he had only brought calamities upon those who were venturing their all for him in Scotland, William was under equal difficulties in the management of the two kingdoms he possessed. The disorders in Ireland, the bad success of the fleet at Bantry-Bay, the defeat at Killikranky, raised great discontents in the English parliament; and they imputed to the King and his ministers, what was owing to the excess of their own parsimony, and to the inevitable distractions of a Prince who had been only a few months upon the throne, and who could take no measures of vigour, without trembling lest he should offend those laws which he had so lately avenged. In the beginning of June*, the commons appointed a committee to enquire to whom the delays in succouring Ireland were to be imputed. As all national discontents in England fall first upon the King's ministers, a motion was, the same day, made by Mr. Howe, a whig member, and debated,

Great dis-
contents in
the House of
Commons.

* Journals of the House of Commons, June 2.

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"for an address to the King to remove from his presence and councils those who had been impeached in parliament:" A motion directed against Lord Danby, lately created Marquis of Caermarthen. Next day they resolved * to apply to the King for copies of the commissions and instructions relating to Ireland. Having been furnished with these, they, a few days after †, addressed for leave to inspect the books of the privy-council, and of the Irish committee, for papers relating to Irish affairs. The King ‡ gave no answer. They addressed again. He kept the same silence. Upon this they voted, "That those persons who have been the occasion of delaying to send relief to Ireland, and those persons who * advised the King to delay giving inspection of the minute-books of the committee for Irish affairs, are enemies to the King and kingdom." Immediately after a motion was made for an address "to remove the Marquisses of Hallifax and Caermarthen from his Majesty's councils," because to them the care of Irish affairs had been chiefly committed; but upon debate it was adjourned. Whilst the dispute was between the King and the commons, these ministers interfered not; but, when they saw it pointed at themselves, they advised their master to give inspection of the books. The house of Lords followed the example of the commons, and called || not only for these books, but for the books of the admiralty, to find out the causes of other national disappointments.

Their jealousies of the Dutch.

June 26.

July 3.

THE discontents of the commons appeared at the same time, in their jealousies of the Dutch. One member having declaimed upon the danger of falling into the hands of the French and the Irish; another called out with a sullen voice and air: "Add the Dutch." The commons had formerly desired ** to know from the King, what were the mutual obligations of assistance between Holland and the crown: But now, irritated because the Dutch had not been at the battle of Bantry Bay, they desired to know †† what number of ships and seamen the Dutch were obliged to fit out for the summer's expedition: And when they voted their

* Journals of the House of Commons, June 3. † Ibid. 7th and 23d June.
‡ Ibid. 28th June, 3d and 13th July. || Lords Journ. 26th and 29th July,
2d August. ** Journ. House of Com. 25th March. †† Ib. June 26.

second address for inspection of the books relating to Ireland *, they instructed their committee to enquire why the Dutch had not sent out their fleet sooner to join that of the English; although by comparing the dates of the treaty between the nations, which lay before the house, and of the junction †, it was obvious, the Dutch fleet had been sent out as soon as could have been expected.

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1689.

THE English jealousies of the Dutch were increased, by the clamours of the trading part of the nation. The English and Dutch fleets joined together, and, consisting of between 60 and 70 strong ships of war, had hovered most of the summer on the coasts of France, and in autumn had spread themselves along the coasts of Ireland; by which stations, they had prevented the French from sending succours of any consequence into Ireland. The French, in the mean time, invented a new species of war: For, laying up their ships of war safe in their harbours, they transported their seamen on foot, on horses, and in carriages, by land to different ports, and put them on board a vast number of small vessels which they seized in the ports, and converted into privateers, in order to destroy the trade of their enemies. The merchants, whose complaints in England are always the loudest and the most listened to, exclaimed, "That a Dutch King, and Dutch counsellors, had laid a scheme to ruin the trade of England, with a view to engross that of the world to their countrymen. In vain were the English navies masters of the sea, if the English trading vessels could find no safety in it. The pomp and parade of fleets, sent to hover in sight of the enemy's harbours, and to serve only as magnificent spectacles, for the entertainment of that people whom they ought to strike with terror, were insults upon the miseries of a nation which was at the expence of maintaining them." All trading nations are jealous; but men must be doubly so, who are separated by their situation from the rest of the world, and who prizing liberty with all the passion of

Clamours of
the mer-
chants.

* Journals of the House of Commons, 3 July. † The treaty was dated 29 April. Vide Journal of the House of Commons, 1 July. The junction was made upon the 6th day of June, a few days after the battle.

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1689.

lovers, cannot bear that other nations should either snatch it from them, or enjoy it with them. It was in vain for the King, or his ministers, to remonstrate, "That a new and unexpected species of war, put in execution on a sudden, no human prudence could foresee, or ward off in an instant. That, for these piratical gains, France had sacrificed her own trade, the reputation of her maritime arms, and the still more important object of giving permanency to the civil wars of her enemy." The merchants heard, could not answer, yet continued to complain.

Continuation
of the discon-
tents of the
commons.
July 16.

THE commons, in the mean time, drew up votes and bills which discovered both the greatness and littleness of party. They passed * a militia-bill, calculated to take even the power of the sword from the hands of the King; but it was ordered by the Lords to lie upon their table, because it took the same power likewise from them. In order to strip the crown of one of its brightest jewels, the power of showing mercy, and to reach Lord Caermarthen, they voted †, that the King's pardon was not pleadable in bar of an impeachment. They threw an affront upon the national character of hospitality, by an address to remove from the kingdom the Duchess of Mazarine, whose chief offence was, that she was a French woman. Although not fond of women, and still less of gay women, William ‡ answered coldly, "He would consider of it." Madame Mazarine, who intended to have left the kingdom, now resolved to continue in it; "In order," as she said, "to show that women could have their humours as well as the house of commons." They, struck at the decorum due to royalty, to a woman, and to misfortune, when, in a bill against papists, they endeavoured to limit the number of the Queen Dowager's popish servants to eighteen: || An insult from which an assembly of nobles protected her; but which induced the unfortunate Princess to quit for ever a kingdom, in which all knees had once bowed to her.

June 4.

July 15.

THE King found the business of government obstructed, not only

* Journals of the House of Commons, July 16. † Ibid. June 4. ‡ Ibid. July 15. || Ibid. July 19.

by the discontents of many of his subjects against himself, but by divisions between the two houses of parliament. The state of mutual opposition in which these assemblies had stood for half a century, the antipathy of individuals against each other in the two late reigns, some present jealousies * in the peers of the interests of their own order, together with a belief they entertained, that the present house of commons had hostile intentions against monarchy itself, mingled private passions with political divisions. There was scarce a bill sent from the one house to the other during this session, which was not made the subject of a conference; and these conferences were managed with a degree of keenness and obstinacy unusual in parliament. When the peers † reminded the commons, that a bill lay before them for the trial of peers which was favourable for the peerage, the commons reminded the peers, that a bill for a militia lay before them, which was favourable for the commons.

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1689.

THE differences between the houses affected even the highest act of state: The commons had converted the claim of rights and instrument of government into a bill, and sent it to the Lords. William, who regulated all his measures by their effect upon France, and who wished, at that time, to attach the Elector of Hanover to the grand alliance, desired Bishop Burnet, who was vain of being thought to speak his sentiments, to move, that the Princess Sophia of Hanover, and her posterity, should be inserted in the order of succession, after those who had been named in the instrument of government. The Lords agreed to the amendment; but the commons refused to receive it. Conferences between the houses ensued, in which Lord Rochester, the once great champion for hereditary right, managed the debate for the Lords. In the opposition of assemblies, assemblies and individuals seemed to have changed their own principles. The Tories, who had contended, during the interregnum, to save the posterity of the late King, now laboured to exclude it, and the Whigs ‡, who were natural enemies to the fa-

They differ
about the
Hanoverian
succession.

* The clause which the peers insisted upon in the additional poll-bill, and the bill regulating the trial of peers, were instances of this.

† Journals of the House of Commons, March 19. August 9. ‡ Ibid. June 19.

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BOOK III.1689.
April 30.

mily of Stuart, preserved their pretensions from being removed to a still greater distance. Amidst these contentions, the original bill itself, the great instrument of English liberty, was lost for this session. The Lords, some time before, had sent the commons a bill * to make it high treason to correspond with the late King. From a continuation of the same passions, it was rejected by the one house, because it had been adopted by the other.

They differ
about Titus
Oates.May 31.
May 23.

June 11.

June 6.

NOR did the houses differ only upon the great objects of state, they entered into animosities concerning the most worthless and the most impudent of human kind. Titus Oates, who had in the last reign been twice cruelly whipped in three days, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be pilloried four times a year as long as he lived, took advantage of the stream of party, and brought the judgment that had been given against him, by appeal, to the house of Lords. The Lords dismissed the appeal †. He had also laid his case before the house of commons ‡ by petition, which received it more favourably. When the commons were informed of the judgment upon his appeal, they inspected the journals of the Lords; voted ||, “That the prosecution against Oates in the late reign, was a design to stifle the popish plot, that the verdicts against him were corrupt, and the judgments cruel and illegal;” sent a bill to the Lords, which reversed both the verdicts and the judgments; and ordered a committee ** to form an abstract of the proceedings of the house upon the popish plot. The Lords †† refused to reverse the verdicts, because the evidence upon which they proceeded was, as yet, unimpeached, and because they thought their doing otherwise, would imply their acquiescence in the truth of Oates’s evidence, and consequently in the reality of the popish plot: But they agreed to reverse the judgments, because they thought the punishment an outrage upon human nature; and, in the mean time, in order to avoid all occasion of difference, they addressed ‡‡ the King for a pardon to Oates, which was granted next day. But the commons,

* Journals of the House of Lords, April 29. and of Commons April 30.

† Journ. House of Com. 11 June. ‡ Ibid. 23d May. || Ibid. 13 July.

** Ibid. June 12. †† Ibid. 13 July. ‡‡ Ibid. 6 August.

not contented with these concessions, demanded * a conference upon the subject of the bill. A great part of the session was lost in disputes about this vile person. In the end, the commons disgraced their record, with a vote for an address for a maintenance to him: The King complied; some excusing him from the necessity he was under not to disoblige the commons, and others converting his compliance into a proof of his own connections with Oates and Shaftesbury at a former period †.

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1689.

AMIDST this jealousy in the commons of the King, and in the Lords of the commons, it was in vain for the King in different speeches, to remind the commons of the bill of indemnity, to press them for more money, and when he saw no more was to be got, to pretend he was satisfied they should proceed no further in raising money this session. The whig party, in the house of commons, still persisted in their original plan of hanging out terrors against the tories, in order to frighten them from opposing their power. Instead of drawing up a bill of indemnity, they began with forming rules of exceptions from it ‡. These rules, reduced under ten heads, were so broad, as to comprehend not only all the malversations of the late reigns, enumerated in the vote of the 25th of March, which had classed them under seven; but also all those which had escaped attention when that vote was drawn up: So that it seemed calculated rather to point out trespasses to be punished which had been forgot, than to bury the old ones in oblivion. Having fixed upon the crimes to be excepted ||, they next proceeded to select the criminals who were to fall under the exceptions. Here public accusations, private whispers, severe inquisitions, were numberless: Men were stabbed by their best friends, who thought themselves justified in returning the dishonourable injury. In the course of this examination, the commons ** inquired who were con-

The whigs
renew their
attacks upon
the tories.

July 12.
June 28.
July 12.

May 23.

June 18.

* Journ. H. Com. 12 June, 22 July. † I have been at a great deal of pains to discover in the paper-office, whether there was any connection between the Prince of Orange, and Shaftesbury; but never could find any traces of it. There are a magazine of papers relating to him in that office. ‡ Journ. H. of Com. May 23. || Ibid. June 28. July 12. ** Ibid. June 18, 14, 3.

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BOOK III.

1689.

July 15.

July 17.
July 20.

cerned in regulating the corporations, in taking off the penal laws, or tests, and in the commitment of the bishops; and they ordered the ecclesiastical commissions, five of which had been issued, to be laid before the house: Inquiries, the first of which affected many even of the ministers of Charles II.; the next, most of the late King's; the third, all of the late privy-council, who had been present at the commitment of the bishops, except the person * who deserved most to be punished; and the last, many of the most considerable † of the tory party, and even some ‡ who had endeavoured to disappoint the commission under which they acted.

They called for the commissioners of customs and excise to account for their having levied these branches of the revenue in the late reign, without authority of parliament. They inspected their books; they called for persons, papers, and records; and addressed the King for leave to inspect the books of the treasury and privy-council relative to that matter: A vote, which struck at Charles II.'s last board of treasury, and all the revenue officers of the late reign. They ordered some of the late King's judges, and others of them whom he had displaced, to attend the house; the former to account for their conduct, the latter to have an opportunity of boasting of their disgrace. They brought the late King's attorney-general before them, for a prosecution he had raised by the King's own order. They resolved to reverse sundry judgments of the judges, and to give reparation to the persons who had suffered by them, out of the estates of the prosecutors, and even of the judges. They ordered an account of the secret money expended since the year 1682, to be laid before the house. Other resolutions and reports affected inferior persons ||: For there was no distinction made between the great

* All the privy council present had signed the warrant of commitment, except Father Peters.

† The Lords Rochester, Sunderland, Mulgrave Huntington, Jeffreys; the Bishops of Rochester, Durham, Chester; Lord Chief Justices Herbert and Wright; Baron Jenner, &c

‡ Lord Rochester, the Bishop of Rochester, and Lord Mulgrave. Vide the apologies of the two last.

|| All these things are to be found in the Journals of the following dates: Journ. H. of Com. July 15, 17, 20. June 14, 18. July 10, 19, 12, 13. May 29. July 16. June 2, 18, July 1.

and the small. In this way, the commons got through the first four of the ten heads of their exceptions, and then stopped, only in order to strike the greater awe, by leaving it uncertain on whose heads the storm should afterwards fall. In the mean time *, Lord Sunderland the bishop of Rochester, and Lord Mulgrave, had testified their fears by publishing apologies for their conduct; and such condescensions, made by such men, raised fears in the rest of their party.

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1689.

BUT, amidst the heat of party itself, the honour of English party appeared: Special committees in both houses had been appointed to inquire into the death of the Earl of Essex, with a view, by some, to fix a stain of the deepest dye upon the memory of Charles II. and his brother. Informers and witnesses † were not wanting to strike the mortal blow, nor believers to give it effect. But the whigs did a more effectual service to their party, by scorning to serve it at the expence of truth and honour. Their justice too appeared; for, though they were arraigning the actions of the servants of Charles, they made provision for paying their arrears. But Lord Delamere ‡, now created Earl of Warrington, was the only man of the party, who, revering the dead, and connections which were avowed now no longer, pressed for a reversal of the attainder of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth: A generosity which was the more honoured, because no body followed his example!

Honourable
conduct of
the whigs.

THE divisions of the nation, and between the houses of parliament, William bore, though with impatience; but, when he found them attempted to be thrown into the royal family, he was filled with alarms. Although the Princess Anne had consented to be postponed to him in the succession, she had not forgot the importance of the concession she had made; nor William, perhaps, that he had been obliged to ask it. The high church-party, which had been at first disobliged by the seeming facility of the Princess's temper, in making that concession, returned soon after to her interests, partly

Quarrel in
the royal fa-
mily.

* Sunderland's apology. † Bishop of Rochester's letters to the Earl of Dorset. Duke of Buckingham's works. Journal House of Lords 1689, passim. ‡ Lord Delamere's works, p. 73.

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1689.

from a family respect, which they found it impossible to shake off and partly *, because her love for the church, and the neglect which her interest in the succession had met with from the whigs, had rivetted her affections to the tories. The adventurers in party wished, as is usual, for differences in the royal family, in hopes to assume merit from drawing down sufferings in the cause of the Princess upon themselves, and were all ready to flock to her standard. Upon these foundations Lady Marlborough, a woman artful, interested, imperious, possessed equally of the talents of insinuating and commanding, who thought that her husband's services had not been sufficiently requited, and found her own not attended to at all, formed the project of making that advantage of division in the royal family, which she could not derive from its union. Many things promised her success: The competition natural between the possessor of a crown, and the presumptive heir to it, increased, because not prevented by the circumstance of their being sisters, the competitors, high-spirited, women, and surrounded with women; the establishment of the court of a Princess, for which it was difficult to find rules, and in which every new step afforded room for a new dispute. Looks, words between sisters and friends, are equal to explanations between others: The Queen, jealous because her sister was so, had put some slights upon her, perhaps more to try her love than from real anger: These were construed, by Lady Marlborough, into mortal injuries. Kings and heroes, like the common race of men, are swayed by the partners of their beds: William entered into the quarrels of women, as if he had been one. To enumerate these, and the frivolous grounds of them, would be beneath the dignity of history, and even of memoirs: But many of them are to be found in the account of the Dutches of Marlborough's conduct written by herself.

ONE source of difference, however, was of real consequence. An independent provision for the Princess Anne had been moved for in the house of commons, so early as the 26th of March †, more from common mark of attention, than from design of party. The house had postponed the debate, from the tenderness of the subject.

* Dutches of Marlborough.

† Journ. House of Commons, March 26.

But, after this, William gave himself no pains to procure that provision for the Princess, with which she had been flattered, when she consented to yield her pretensions to his in the succession; and she was too proud to ask favours from one upon whom she had conferred them. Lady Marlborough, therefore, got the motion for the revenue revived in the house of commons * upon the 17th of July; and it was referred to a committee of the whole house, which was to take into consideration the revenue-bill. The committee resolved, that a revenue of 40,000 pounds a year should be settled upon her for life: A resolution, the more mortifying to the King, because his own had not as yet been settled; and because all men knew it was to be granted to him from time to time, and not for his life. Neither the King, nor the Queen, nor any of their ministers, had been consulted in this motion. The Queen got the first certain intelligence of it from the Princess herself, who, having been questioned by her sister, concerning the intention of the commons, answered, with indifference: "She heard her friends in the house of commons intended to do something for her." "Friends," replied the Queen, with heat, "What friends have you, but the King and me?" Words which remained deep in the minds of both! The King, in the mean time, exerted all his influence to disappoint the committee's resolution of the 17th of July; and, after a warm debate in the house, upon the 9th of August, the question was adjourned †. In order to prevent any further contentions upon this subject, William, a few days after, closed the session by an adjournment.

EVEN in retiring, the commons left marks of that high spirit by which they were actuated: For, when their speaker, Mr. Powle, on the last day of the session, presented the bill for the payment of the Dutch forces, he shrewdly reminded the King, "That the Dutch had formerly received from the English that redemption from slavery which they had lately repaid."

August 20.
The King
adjourns the
parliament,
to prevent a
settlement
upon the
Princess.

No nation blends commercial with political interests so much as the English. The parliament passed a law, prohibiting all trade

* Journals of the House of Commons, 17 July.

† Ibid. Aug. 9;

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1689.

Two laws of
political oe-
conomy.

with France, and addressed the King to make the consent of other nations to a similar prohibition, the condition of his entering into alliances with them; to which he agreed. They passed another law for a bounty upon the exportation of corn. This bounty was demanded by the tories, who were possessed of the great landed interest, in return for their consenting to a land tax of three shillings in the pound *; the highest land tax that had ever been known in England. By the first of these contrivances, France consumed and sickened. The last caused England to grow in stature and health. Foreigners were astonished to see a wise nation give rewards for exporting the sustenance of man: But they perceived not, that from thence would arise the industry of the people, and the verdure of the fields in England beyond those of all neighbouring nations.

Discontents
in Scotland.

WHILE the parliament of England was disputing, with decorum, the will of their Sovereign, that of Scotland, which sat at the same time, like slaves broke loose, indulged in licentiousness, under the specious name of liberty. This conduct was owing to three general causes.

1. A cause of
them; the
state of reli-
gion.

RELIGIOUS differences had, ever since the Reformation, been the great sources of political divisions in Scotland. And the nation was now almost equally divided into the friends of prelacy and of presbytery. For, although most of the lower and middling ranks of the nation, and almost all of the commons, who, in the first heat of the revolution, had been returned to parliament, were, from principle and passion, attached to presbytery; yet most of the nobility and higher gentry, and all the old tory-party, were of the opposite communion. It was therefore impossible for the King to gain the one party, without losing the other. He saw the difficulty, and hesitated greatly. He made attempts in person to reconcile them to each other: But, while some looked upon these attempts as injuries, † others converted the smooth words in which they were expressed, into promises of which they were intitled to claim the performance. The Duke of Hamilton urged him to preserve prelacy.

* It was intended to have been laid on this session; and was laid on by two acts in the next session. † Letter from Bishop Ross to Bishop Campbell.

Old Lord Stair, and still more Carstairs, the same clergyman who had been put to the torture upon the discovery of the Rye-house plot, and in whose sagacity William put great confidence in church-matters, advised him to settle presbytery. At length, in despair, the King gave orders to * his ministers, to consent in parliament to whatever mode of church-government the people of Scotland should like best: A compliment paid to the nation, which, by marking his indifference what mode should prevail, was disobliging to the keen friends both of presbytery and prelacy.

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1689.

ANOTHER cause of discontent equally important, arose from the selfishness of individuals. Almost all had readily concurred in placing the crown upon the King's head; because almost all had flattered themselves with the hopes of deriving advantages from their concurrence. But, the distribution of honours and preferments having now been made, many found their expectations disappointed †. The anger of these men was increased by their recollection of William's former silence, when they first waited upon him at London, which they imputed, not to the nature of his situation, but to the depth of design, and to an intention to deceive. William had foreseen these consequences; and as the offices were few, and the applications for them numerous, he had split them into commissions, in order to comprehend the greater number of competitors. But, in a country, where most of the expectants were needy, ambitious, of good families, of good parts, and at a time when all those who had concurred in the revolution, over-rated their pretensions to favour, every obligation that was conferred upon one person disobliged a number of others. It was quickly observed in Scotland, equally as in England ‡, that William put his chief confidence in those who had attended him from Holland. Lord Stair was restored to his rank of President of the session; and his son, Sir John Dalrymple, appointed Lord Advocate, and ordered to attend the King's person. Lord Melville, who had been obliged || to fly to Holland, upon the discovery of the Rye-house plot, in which he had been engaged with his brother-in-law, the Duke of Monmouth; a man § timid, unexperienced in busi-

2d cause.—
The disappointments
of ambition.

* Duke of Hamilton's instructions. † Gen. M^c Kay's manuscript. ‡ Lord Balcarres. Gen. M^c Kay's manuscript. || Record of Scottish privy-council, Aug. 7, 1683, April 8, 1684. § Gen. M^c Kay's manuscript.

PART II.
BOOK III.

1689.

liness, and docile from his consciousness of both, was named secretary of state, not so much to act, as to be directed by Lord Stair and his son. The recommending to places, the advising of measures, went through the channel of these three persons, who associated into their councils * Lord Tarbet, afterwards Earl of Cromarty, and Lord Breadalbane; the first on account of his relation to Lord Melville, and the last on account of his friendship with Sir John Dalrymple, and the long reach of thought he possessed. Tarbet and Breadalbane were permitted to keep up their connections with the late government, under a promise on their part of turning them to the advantage of the present. To the Duke of Hamilton, the King gave the empty title of representing his person in parliament as commissioner, without making any provisions for his numerous sons, or enabling him to make any for his more numerous dependants: An honour which he looked upon as an insult; † and his complaints were the more graceful, because they were open, and suited the greatness of his rank; and because they were accompanied with declarations of his aversion to that Stuart family, which he was unjustly suspected to favour. But the person who formed the most desperate schemes, was Sir James Montgomery, because he connected himself in private with the partizans of the late King; a man equally expert in writing, speaking, and intrigue, who, though a mere adventurer in party, had aimed at the office of secretary of state, and, having nothing to hope, and nothing to lose, now converted his ambition into revenge.

3d cause;
anxieties of
the old popular party.

THERE was still a third cause: As the revolution in England had been brought about by a coalition of whigs and tories, its interests were in that country, except in a few instances, kept distinct from the former oppositions to royal power. But, as the revolution had been accomplished in Scotland almost intirely by the whigs, its interests were, in this last country, blended with those of all the insurrections in the two late reigns: For many hundreds, who had been engaged in these insurrections, had come over with the Prince of Orange; others had contributed to his success in Scotland; many of them now sat in parliament; and it was known that there was a bill preparing to restore all the rest, without distinction of their offences,

* General M^cKay's manuscript.
pudence with King William and Lord Portland.

† General M^cKay's manuscript corre-

who had been forfeited since the first insurrection in Scotland after the restoration*. These exiles, accustomed in foreign countries to complain and to be pitied, imputed to every King what they had suffered from one or two, and thought that subjects were only safe when the crown was reduced to a state of inability to do them mischief. Mr. Fletcher of Salton, though not returned to parliament, communicated his own spirit to the conduct of this party: A man the more sanguine against slavery, because he had been forced to live under it in other countries, and had opposed it in vain in his own. He brought over to it too, the more virtuous part of the youth: For he courted the young, endeavouring to model their national love of ancient learning into an ambition of imitating the glorious actions it describes, and was in use to say, that the full restoration of liberty was not to be expected from the old, who, having once submitted to tyranny, had lost the sense of freedom. The youth, in return, revered in him simplicity of character and of honour, elevation of mind, and the spirit of their ancestors, and thought, that to feel his virtues and to possess them, were the same†. This party was known sometimes by the name of the Revolution Country party, from its principles, and sometimes by that of the Club, because its members met in private, and acted in concert. Lord Anandale, Lord Ross, and Sir James Montgomery, were accounted the heads of it in parliament.

THE claim of rights, which had been presented to the King with the offer of the crown, consisted of a variety of pretensions in favour of

The King's grand scheme for gaining the Scotch disappointed.

* That is, from the year 1665. Vide, an account of the scheme in Woodrow's appendix.

† One of his *eleves*, was Lord Basil Hamilton. At an after-period Lord Basil was deputed by the parliament of Scotland to complain to King William of the affair of Darien. He attended long in London without being properly regarded: At last, a day was fixed for his being heard in council. When he came, other business was pretended; the council rose; and the King was going away: Lord Basil placed himself in the passage, stopped the King, and said, "I come, deputed by one of your kingdoms, to lay their complaints at your royal feet. I have a right to be heard, and I will be heard." The King bid him go on, gave him a civil answer, and then turning to one of his courtiers, said, "This young man is too bold, if any one can be too bold in his country's cause." This anecdote I had from Lord Basil's grandson, the present Earl of Selkirk.

the subject, some of which were well founded, and others not. Yet instructions were given by the King to the Duke of Hamilton, to get separate laws passed in parliament in confirmation of every one of them, so as not only to remove the appearances of tyranny, but even to comply with all the prejudices of the convention which had formed those pretensions. A more popular and generous measure could not have been devised. But the Duke of Hamilton, the commissioner to the parliament, disappointed the effect of it. He concealed from the order of boroughs, that he was empowered to pass a law, for re-instating them in all the rights which had been taken from them in the late reigns: Hence they were led to oppose that interest which they believed had neglected theirs. He refused the assent to a bill, which abolished the King's supremacy in the church; and, though he gave the royal assent to an act which abolished prelacy, he took no care to procure another which should establish presbytery in its place: The refusal and the neglect touched equally one of the tenderest strings in presbyterian breasts. He would allow no alteration to be made in the constitution of the Lords of articles, a court-committee which had a negative in parliament before debate, although he received repeated instructions to make concessions upon that subject: A mark of attention to an unjust branch of prerogative, which roused all the jealousies of freedom*. He contrived, that the bill for reversing the forfeitures in

* The Lords of the articles in Scotland consisted originally of eight Bishops, eight temporal Peers, eight Knights of the shires, and eight Burgesses, every eight chosen by the respective bodies to which they belonged, and the eight officers of state, who were named by the crown. They were a committee appointed for putting the business of parliament into form, after it was moved in the house, but they had no power to exclude any motion. In the Scotch parliament, business proceeded not as in the English, by bills passing in slow forms, and after repeated readings through one house, and then sent to the other; the bill, on the contrary, received only one reading, all the members formed but one assembly, and parliaments often sat only a few days at a time. In such a state of things, a committee intended to give facility to business, was a wise and necessary contrivance; and common justice and policy required, that some of the King's servants, to take care of the King's interest, should be constituent members of it. But, in the reign of James I. of England, a period when the plan of exalting the power of the crown by law was first laid, the Lords of articles were converted into a

the late reigns should not be got ready, because his brother and one of his sons possessed estates in consequence of these forfeitures *: A delay, which exasperated all the exiles, who were eager to recover their honours and fortunes. He concealed the instructions which he had to carry through the popular acts in confirmation of the claim of rights: Hence the King was blamed by his best friends for his inattention to the interests of the nation, and to his own promises †. Lastly, the Duke inflamed the resentment of the public, and of individuals, by imputing all the disappointments which either suffered to the new ministers.

court-committee, with a negative upon parliament before debate: For, first by usage from the year 1633, and afterwards by statute, cap. 1. sect. 3. par. 1. ch. 2. the Bishops chose eight Noblemen, the Nobility eight Bishops, these sixteen eight Knights, and eight Burgesses, to all of whom were added the eight officers of state; and this committee assumed a power of rejecting what motions they pleased. But, as all the bishops, and the greatest part of the nobles were, from this period, at the devotion of the crown, it is obvious, the crown had the real nomination of the committee. At the revolution, the convention-parliament insisted, that the committee of articles should be put upon the footing on which it stood previous to the 1633, with this alteration, that the officers of state should be excluded. The King, by his first instructions to the Duke of Hamilton, which were given him before the parliament sat down, directed him to put the committee of articles exactly upon its ancient footing before the year 1633. And, when this was found disagreeable to the parliament, the Duke received other instructions, to allow each order of parliament to name eleven out of its own order, to which the eight officers of state were to be added: A concession which could not have failed to have given the superiority to the subject over the crown. And, in order to secure that superiority still further, the parliament was to have a power of changing this committee as often as it pleased, and the committee was to have no power of rejecting motions.

* Lord Balcarras.

† Vide "an account of the affairs of Scotland, in their civil and religious rights, printed at London for Richard Baldwin, anno 1690." Believed to have been written by Sir John Dalrymple, afterwards Earl of Stair.

Vide, also General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs and correspondence with Lord Portland, from which it appears, the Duke confessed to General M'Kay, that, though he was strongly attached to the King's title, yet he had, at this time, thwarted his measures from revenge.

PART II.
BOOK III.

1689.
An opposition formed
in the Scottish parliament.

FROM these causes and circumstances, the same assembly which, as a convention, had, two months before, discovered the most unbounded confidence in William, now, when converted into a parliament, engaged in a formal and determined opposition to all his measures. They provided no revenue for him, they refused to support his forces, although there was a civil war yet unextinguished in their country : A piece of obstinacy attended with mischievous consequences ! for it obliged the King to disband a part of his Scotch army, and to leave the rest without pay, and, the soldiers who were retained in the service *, to live upon free quarter. Some of the popular bills, which, in spite of the commissioner, had been forced in by some, were disappointed by others, lest the King should get the popularity of assenting to them ; and others of these bills were carried through the house, because it was known under-hand, that the commissioner was to put a negative upon them. In order to hurt Lord Stair and the prerogative together, the parliament passed a bill which gave the nomination of a new set of judges to the parliament, and of the president to the judges ; and, in order to hurt his son, they passed another, which declared, that those who had concurred in any of the illegal measures of the late government should be incapable of public trust. The terms of this last bill were made so broad, that, had it got the royal assent, it must have thrown the whole nation into a flame †. In an assembly, whose forms of proceeding were not very precisely ascertained, where most wished for confusion, and none more than he who was sent to prevent it, those who opposed the court perplexed the debates, by debating on the order of motions ‡, and reversing the resolutions which had been voted : And they inflamed the populace to so great a degree, that the new judges were obliged to take their seats under the protection of a regiment of dragoons. In this way, several weeks were consumed ; only nine public bills passed the house, and, to five of these, the commissioner refused his assent, under pretence, that they infringed the prerogative, although he had instructions to pass three

* General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs ; books of Scottish privy council.

† Proceedings of the Scottish parliament vindicated ; written by Sir James Montgomery.

‡ Lord Stair's account, p. 30.

of them, and to compromise another: And then, with pretended vexation, and real joy for the bad success of the session, he adjourned it. The new ministers complained of the Commissioner to the King: The Commissioner represented, that even popular measures could not be carried through by unpopular ministers. Uncertain whose advices to follow, or what measures to take, the King, from time to time, adjourned the parliament for near a year.

PART II.
BOOK III.

1689.
Scottish parliament adjourned.

BUT these adjournments gave not even a momentary quiet to William. Sir James Montgomery took advantage of the mischiefs, most of which he had created. To the presbyterians he insinuated, "That the King had passed an act, which abolished prelaty but did not substitute presbytery in its place, only with an intention to keep a treaty open between himself and their enemies." To the episcopal clergy, he took care it should be foretold, "That that act, uncomplete as it was, was the forerunner of plunging their order into poverty." And to the laity of their communion, "That what had happened to their fathers would happen to them: For they would soon see their wives and families regulated by puritanical teachers, and themselves obliged to do penance in congregations of their foes." And to both sides he appealed, "If that Prince must not be indifferent to religion altogether *, by whose means, one set of clergy had been virtually dismissed from the ministry of religion, and yet no other even virtually admitted into it?" The ancient nobility, and chiefly those of the north, he irritated by their pride and their jealousy. "All power in the kingdom," he said, "was put into the hands of three men, without alliance or followers; while they, whose families had been in use to command the fate of their country, and could command it again, were neglected. But, if neglect was sufferable, distrust was not: Their residence in the Highlands made the imputation of their attachment to the late royal cause easy; and ministers, whose party was narrow, and who were themselves of low-country families, had an interest to mark a distinction between the two parts of the king-

Sir James Montgomery's arts to irritate the members.

* General M'Kay's manuscript.

PART II.

BOOK III.

1689.

dom, and to represent their own enemies as rebels to their master." To the revolution country-party, he exclaimed, "How ever magnanimous or wise the King might be, he was a stranger to Scotland. He had given his confidence to three ministers, one of whom Lord Melville, because not accustomed to business, was almost as much a stranger to the affairs of Scotland as his master: Another of whom had betrayed Charles II: And the third, his successor. These ministers had associated into their councils, two persons who had turned against the late government, by which they had been trusted*, and now only pretended to serve the present government, that by treating it in the same manner, they might atone for their former offence. All these men, except Lord Melville, had, at some period of their lives, been the instruments of the late reigns; but the instruments of tyranny were improper ministers of freedom. Every King loved power; and the King had chosen them, only because he knew they would make his will their own, and force others to lessen their disgrace, by sharing it. Freedom had already been injured; for the royal assent had been refused to the popular bills called for by the people, and presented by the parliament. The king had lost his own popularity in his ministers want of it; and small was the distance between the contempt of popularity and of virtue. The Duke of Lauderdale had made courts of justice the great sanctuaries of oppression; and now a man was placed at the head of the law, who had been the friend of Lauderdale. Occupied entirely with the affairs of England and Ireland, the King had laid aside all attention to the welfare of Scotland. His soldiers spoiled that country which they ought to have protected: He had neglected to restore the rights of citizens to the companions of his hazards; and he adjourned, from time to time, that national assembly, which alone could find remedies for such disorders, deeming his ministers his only friends, and his parliament his chief foes †."

* Lord Tarbet got his peerage from James the Second, and was one of his secret committee. Vide Lord Balcarras. Lord Breadalbane was made a peer by Charles the Second, and was a favourite of both brothers.

† Proceedings of the Scotch parliament, written by Sir James Montgomery.

By such arts, Sir James Montgomery persuaded most of the members of the parliament to join in an address to the King, notwithstanding the recess, in which, in terms affectedly respectful, but full of real reproaches, they complained of his not carrying the claim of rights into execution*. Another was sent from the presbyterian clergy; a third from the boroughs.

PART II.
BOOK III.

1689.

They present
a remon-
strance to
the King.

It was in vain for the King to publish his instructions to the Duke of Hamilton, in order to shew the purity of his intentions: in vain Sir John Dalrymple, in speaking and in writing, reminded his countrymen, "That, while England, by the revolution, had
" got no more than the re-establishment of constitutional freedom,
" Scotland had made an escape from constitutional tyranny: For
" all the laws in the one country, were on the side of the subject;
" but in the other, absolute power had been established by law;

Attempts to
pacify them
prove vain.

* The address complained, that six of their favourite bills had been either refused or disappointed. 1mo, The bill altering the constitution of the Lords of articles. This bill, as they had framed it, was unreasonable. Vide note at pag. 78. but the commissioner had power to compromise it. 2do, The bill for abolishing the King's supremacy. The commissioner had power to pass it; for, by his first instructions given him before the parliament sat down, he was directed "to pass an
" act, establishing that church-government which is most agreeable to the inclina-
" tions of the people, rescinding the act of parliament of the year 1669. (that
" is the act of supremacy) and all acts inconsistent therewith." And, by his second instructions given him while the parliament was sitting, he received orders, "to
" pass what act should be proposed for settling the church-government according to
" his former instructions." 3tio, The bill of disabilities, it was equally unjust and impolitic. 4to, The bill giving the nomination of the judges to parliament, and of the president to the judges. This bill was contrary to ancient practice, (Vid. Lord Stair's vindication of himself), to prerogative, and to public interest. 5to, The bill for restoring those presbyterian ministers who had been ejected from their charges, since the year 1661. The duke had power to pass it, by his instructions relative to church-government. 6to, The address complained, that those who had been forfeited in the late reigns were not restored. The Duke, by article 3d of his 2d instructions, was empowered to pass a general act of restoration. Vid. Lord Stair's account.

“ during the two last reigns, in the state *, in the church †, over
 “ private property ‡, over foreign trade §, and in those branches
 “ ** of taxation which depended upon it. That the intention of
 “ the King to throw this power from him, because, by disgracing the
 “ people, it degraded him who reigned over them, and to restore
 “ them to the freedom of their ancestors, had been disappointed by
 “ the madness of party. It was natural for a Prince, who was un-
 “ acquainted with his new subjects, in a country divided by high
 “ factions, to put his chief confidence, for some time at least, in men
 “ whose fidelity he knew, until he had tried that of others. The
 “ transition was easy, from embarrassing the measures, to proceed
 “ to opposing the title of a new government. Men, disappointed
 “ in their ambition, had taken advantage of the virtues of their
 “ countrymen, to engage them in the one. The unwearied would
 “ find, when too late, that the same men had insensibly drawn
 “ them into the other. Let them, therefore, beware of showing
 “ they were equally incapable of living without liberty, and of
 “ knowing how to bear it.” But the flame of party was raised, and

* Vid. Act 2. parl. 1. James II. † Vid. act of supremacy, Act 1. parl. 1669. ‡ By the act 16 parl. 1681, it is declared, “ That, notwithstanding the
 “ jurisdictions and offices created by the crown, his sacred Majesty may, by himself
 “ or any commissioned by him, take cognizance and decision of any cases or causes
 “ he pleases.” § By the act 27. 1663, the King had the power of regulating foreign trade.

** By the 27. act, 1663, the King had the power of taxing foreign trade as he pleased.

The four statutes quoted in the five last notes, prove clearly, that Charles the Second, and his brother, had laid down a system, regular, and connected in all its parts, to establish an absolute monarchy in Scotland. There were two causes of the Scotch consenting to these statutes. The one was the frequency of unsuccessful rebellions during those reigns, which made every man who opposed the court be accounted a rebel. The other was the extraordinary powers which the privy-council exerted, during those reigns, and which threw terror upon all. I know nothing so effectual to make a man a good whig, as a perusal of the books of the Scottish privy-council. Before the reign of Charles the Second, the subject in Scotland was by the laws as independent upon the Sovereign, as in England.

it was in vain to expect, that truth, justice, or public interest, could extinguish it. Fatigued and peevish with the interested politics of the Scotch, an expression escaped from the King, which was not forgot to be repeated by his enemies, "That he wished he had never been King of Scotland." Words unguarded and unwise! As if a million and a half of free subjects could be a trifling object to any monarch upon earth.

PART II.
BOOK III.

1689.

THUS, in return for having delivered three kingdom from popery and slavery, William, before he was a year upon the throne, found himself repaid with faction in one of them, with rebellion in another, and with both in the third. But the diffension between the two royal sisters gave him more vexation than all the three; because he foresaw that latent treasons would follow it, which he would not dare to punish, or even to unveil.

B O O K IV.

PART II.
BOOK IV.

1689.

PREPARATIONS for the War in Ireland. — Schomberg's March to Dundalk. — Schomberg's Encampment at Dundalk, and Miseries of his Army. — Retreat of the Armies into Quarters. — The King becomes unpopular. — Account of Church-matters. — Great Heats in Parliament. — The Commons resolve upon an Address disapproving of the King's Measures. — The King relieved from it by an Accident. — Diffensions revived in the Royal Family. — The King's Distress between the Whigs and the Tories. — He breaks with the Whigs, and dissolves the Parliament.

Preparations
for the war
in Ireland.

June 27.

WILLIAM perceived too late, that his neglect of Ireland had been either the capital error, or the capital misfortune of his new reign. The disturbed state of that kingdom had encouraged those in Britain who disputed his title, had given a handle to those who complained of his measures, and he now found was likely to stop the career of his ambition against France: For the cries of his people, and the fears of his ministers for their own safety, discovered to him that the care of the dominions of England was, in the eyes of Englishmen, an object far more important, than humbling the power of any foreign nation, however formidable or obnoxious. He therefore resolved to prosecute the reduction of Ireland, with a force proportioned to its difficulty. But he was afraid to send the late King's army to fight against him; and therefore ordered twenty-three* new regiments to be raised. The levies were completed in six weeks: For England, by a long peace, was filled with men impatient for war, because they loved its glories, and knew not its miseries. These regiments with two Dutch battali-

* Books of privy-council, June 27.

ons, and four of French refugees, were destined for the service: And they were to be joined in Ireland by the Inniskillingers, together with such regiments as could be spared from Scotland, because both of those bodies of men had been tried against their late master; and by six thousand hired Danes, because these knew no master except him who paid them. Suspicion of his own subjects made William give the direction of the expedition also to foreigners: He appointed Marshal Schomberg, then eighty years of age, to be the first, and Count Solms the second, in command. In order to give more splendor to the command, the King honoured Schomberg with a Dukedom, and the garter; and the house of commons voted him a present of 100,000 pounds. Before Schomberg set out, he waited upon that assembly, to thank them, and to take his farewell; and was received with those attentions, which, from assemblies guided by the will of another, are tiresome ceremonies, but from assemblies of free men are the most pleasing of all honours.

SCHOMBERG arrived at Chester on the 20th of July; but here he found almost nothing ready for his expedition: The English, unaccustomed to war in their own country, knew not how to prepare for it. Most of the regiments, by mistakes of orders, were not come up, and those which came were incomplete. There was not a sufficient number of transports for carrying the horses for the artillery and baggage; nor a proper quantity of provisions in the magazines; neither were the convoys ready. The cloaths, shoes, and tents of the new levies were bad: Few of the men had ever fired a musket; and, from the pride which is natural to the English populace, most of them were impatient of command. Nor were their officers much better. Cromwell's officers were long ago dead, or had retired to the country, or had entered into trade, having forgot their crimes and their virtues alike. Few new ones had been formed in the reign of Charles II. from the people's jealousy of an army, and the King's of a militia; and of these few, most had been corrupted by the residence in London which that Prince assigned to the small force he maintained. And

State of the
new army in-
tended for
Ireland.

PART II.
BOOK IV.

1689.

Schomberg
sails with a
part of his
army and
takes Car-
rickfergus.

August 26.

Schomberg's
march to
Dundalk.

the present King was afraid to trust many of James's officers among the new levies: So that the new commissions had been given mostly to the younger sons of country gentlemen, with a view to attach their fathers and brothers to the new establishment.

THE Duke of Schomberg continued twenty-two days at Chester, to hasten all things necessary, but to little purpose: And at last, that he might not lose the season of action altogether, he set sail on the 12th of August, with no more than 10,000 men, of which a few only were cavalry, and with part of his artillery, leaving orders for the rest of the army to follow him as fast it could. The fleet arrived next day in the Bay of Carrickfergus. Schomberg resolved by some exploit of consequence, but not of danger, to give reputation to his arms, a thing which he knew he needed, to encourage new troops, and to intimidate a new foe; and therefore, about a week after his landing, he laid siege to Carrickfergus, and took it in four days, with a garrison of 2500 men in it.

THE country from Carrickfergus to Dundalk * was full of mountains and bogs; but, beyond that town, it was level, dry, and open. Schomberg, sensible, from this form of the country, that in a march to Dundalk, he could be safe against attacks of cavalry or artillery, in which the enemy was strong and himself weak, but that he must be exposed to both, if he advanced any farther, resolved to march his small army to Dundalk, and to continue there, until the rest of his forces and equipage should join him. He sent most of the artillery which he had brought with him from England, by sea to Carlingford, a port eight miles from Dundalk, because he had not horses to draw it, and carried with his army only the lightest of his field pieces. He ordered the transports which should arrive from England to rendezvous at the same port, and the Inniskillingers to join him upon his route.

DURING this march which lasted six days, the raw soldiers got the first taste of those hardships, which afterwards thickened upon

* Story, p. 43.

them. As the rainy season had begun earlier than usual, the ground naturally loose of itself, was rendered, by this accident, so much looser, that the soldiers either could not pitch their tents *, or where they did, the wind blew them down. In going along the sides of mountains, slippery with rain, the men and horses fell: In passing thro' bogs, they stuck in the mud. The artillery-horses having failed, in roads which were not able to bear the weight of the artillery, the soldiers were obliged to drag the carriages along; or, where the carriages sunk, attempted to carry the field-pieces upon their shoulders. From the want of baggage-horses, a sufficiency of provisions had not been brought with the army: and, wherever the soldiers threw their eyes, they beheld solitude and famine; for the protestants had quitted the country the spring before, in the general panic, and the Roman catholics now fled at the approach of Schomberg. The cattle had been driven off, or were seen slaughtered and putrified on the roads†: The corn lay reaped, but rotting on the ground. Over the doors‡, and in the thatch of almost every house, crucifixes were placed: No other furniture was left: And even these vestiges of men caused the present solitude to strike the deeper impression upon the minds of the new soldiers, who had come so lately from objects of population and plenty. The junction of the Inniskilling dragoons raised sentiments that were ambiguous: They were followed by § multitudes of their women; they were uncouth in their appearance; they rode on small horses called garrons; their pistols were not fixed in holsters, but dangled about their persons, being slung to their sword-belts; they offered with spirit to make always the forlorn of the army; but, upon the first order they received, they cried out, "They could thrive no longer, since they were now put under orders ||."

SCHOMBERG continued ten days encamped near Dundalk, in vain expecting assistance to enable him to go forward. No forces, artillery, baggage, provisions, or horses, arrived from England, and no aids from Scotland or Denmark. Even the artillery which he

Schomberg
encamps at
Dundalk.

* Story, 1. p. 13.

† Ibid. 1. p. 12. and 14.

‡ Ibid. p. 13.

§ General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs.

|| Story.

PART II.
BOOK IV.

1689.

Sept. 16.

had sent from Carrickfergus to Carlingford, was detained by cross winds. The Irish, who had retreated before him, from a belief that his force was as strong as was intended, now made a stand at Drogheda, sixteen miles from Dundalk; and Marshal Rosen, hearing that the enemy was halted, said, "Then he was sure Schomberg wanted something;" and ordered all the Irish forces to quit their different stations and garrisons, and advance towards Dundalk. Schomberg, conscious of this danger, entrenched himself in a place strong by nature. His front to the west was protected by a river between him and the enemy, on the east by the Newry mountains, on the south by the sea, and on the north by hills and bogs intermixed. He made it stronger by art, fortifying his camp with all ancient and modern devices. Here he resolved to wait patiently until the rest of the forces should arrive, and in the mean time to form his new levies to the arts and discipline of war.

Schomberg's error in this encampment, and the miseries of his army:

BUT a complete general ought always to regard the art of preserving health as one of the arts of war, Schomberg considered not, that armies confined to one spot must fall into diseases. He knew not the physical qualities of the station and climate in which his camp was fixed. He reflected not upon the difference between the former and the present habits of life of his soldiers. The common people of England, though accustomed to work hard, indulge, in return, in more of the conveniencies of life, than the subjects of any other country. For they are accustomed to enjoy dry and warm sleeping-places, raiment contrived not for show but for health, plentiful, wholesome, and regular meals, and stated hours of labour, rest, and sleep. Hence, in the inactive state, and confined station of Schomberg's army, which deprived the soldiers of their wonted exercise; in the low and damp situation of Dundalk; and in the moist climate of Ireland; his soldiers, without fuel almost of any kind; obliged to lie abroad, sometimes in the open air, and at best in bad tents; dressed in cloaths to which they had not been accustomed, and which were contrived more for show than for health: pinched in the allowance of their provisions, and these not always good in their quality; and exposed to every sort of irregularity in their meals, labour, and sleep; fell into fluxes and

fevers, and died in great numbers. The arrival of some troops from Londonderry imported the contagion of an infected town into an infected camp. And the evil was without cure; because the surgeons, who had brought plenty of bandages, and instruments for the cure of wounds*, had forgot the far more material article of remedies for diseases.

THE enemies, in the mean time, to the amount of 40,000 men, encamped upon the adjacent heights, and, continually shifting their station, enjoyed exercise, air, and health. They tried many arts to provoke Schomberg, or rather his soldiers, to battle; sometimes attacking his out-posts in order to engage the army in their defence, and at other times, passing near his lines to insult his soldiers, and draw them out. Once they marched in battle-array straight to his camp, and offered him battle. The officers of the artillery asked leave to fire. But Schomberg, knowing the difficulty of restraining new soldiers after the action is begun, gave orders that no gun should be discharged, until the enemy came within musket-shot. The Irish at last, finding that all their attempts to bring him into action were fruitless, sat down in a camp near his, and, falling into the same state of inactivity, were afflicted with the same diseases: So that, between the two armies, there seemed to be a contention, not which should conquer, but which should bear death with most patience.

Sept. 21.

BUT as men in sickness are always impatient, and think they relieve their miseries by turning their complaints upon others, Schomberg's soldiers, and too many of his officers, complained aloud, "That they had been brought from their native homes, to a country in which every breath of air wafted pestilence along with it; and yet were now precluded from the privilege of dying like brave men with arms in their hands. There was the enemy, battle, and conquest: Here only inaction, disgrace, the dying, and the dead." They next converted their resentment against their general, "whose age," they said, "rendered him equally inactive against the enemies army, and incapable of attending to the state

* Story, 1. p. 26.

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“of his own, and who because he was a foreigner, looked with indifference upon the sufferings of Englishmen.” Schomberg saw the danger of leading men to battle whose spirits were only irritated by despair; that, in advancing, there was ruin, in retiring, both disgrace and danger; and upon these accounts, the necessity of continuing in the strong post he possessed. But, knowing how fruitless it would be, to apply reason to complaints which were founded in feeling, he submitted to bear the clamours of a people, whose independence makes clamour habitual, and whose sufferings made it at that time excuseable.

BUT he sent dispatch after dispatch to the shores, and into England and Scotland, for help. Once he quitted the army himself, and went to Carlingford, as if his presence in the place, where succours should have come, could relieve his mind from reflecting they were not there. By degrees, some ships arrived from Britain, and by degrees some regiments: But the regiments from Scotland were thin, many * of the men having deserted for want of pay, and all the new succours were not sufficient to fill up the places of the dead. When these regiments arrived, Schomberg ordered the usual honours of firing at the burials of officers to be discontinued, both to conceal his losses from the enemy, and to hide danger from his new friends. But the order only served to call the attention of these last to the horrors of that camp into which they were entering; and the silence, by varying the impression, increased the havoc in the imaginations of those who were in it before. To save the troops, he ordered them to be huddled: But this heightened their miseries, because it showed them they were to be lasting.

FROM anger, the soldiers fell into despondency. Catching by contagion † the superstition of the country in which they were, they recounted to each other all the calamities which, from the most antient times, had befallen armies at Dundalk ‡. A report was believed among them, that the year before, two meteors had been

* Story, 37, 46.

† General M'Kay's manuscript correspondence with King William and Lord Portland.

‡ Story, 145. Hamilton, 35.

seen hovering over Dundalk in the night-time, and that heavy groans and shrieks had been heard, at the same time, in the air. But this succession of passions gave way in the end, as often happens, to total indifference of sentiment. The minds of the soldiers became so callous *, that when their dying companions were carried from the tents to the hospitals, those who remained complained they were bereft of shelter from the wind: They drew the dead bodies to them, and made use of them for seats and pillows: They shewed no pity, or even attention, to each others distresses; and, surrounded with death upon all sides, every one acted as if he alone was immortal. The only passion which seemed to be alive in them was envy: For the Dutch corps having preserved their health entire, either from their being veteran troops, or because they had been habituated to a moist climate, or from the warmer cloathing of the men, and the superior attention of their officers and surgeons; the English soldiers imputed it to the greater care which Schomberg took of Dutch troops than of their countrymen.

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IN November, the rains became so intolerable, that both armies, as if by mutual agreement, quitted their camps at the same time, in order to retire to quarters, without attempting to take advantage of each other's retreat; both unable to annoy, both happy not to be annoyed. But the retreat of the English presented the misfortune in the greatest extent: For the Irish, being masters of the country, had privately carried off their sick by degrees, and by different routes: But, the day before the English decamped, they sent off theirs in one body; so that those who had hitherto known only their neighbours distresses, or their own, saw now the calamity of all. And, because the spirits of the officers and soldiers were not agitated, by an enemy's army pursuing them, they contemplated with the greater leisure the weakness of their own army. As soon as the huts and tents were uncovered, the whole range of the camp looked like one vast hospital; and the numbers of those who were preparing the sick for their journey was so great, that most of the army seemed to be no more than attendants upon it. As there was not a sufficient number of waggons for carrying off all the sick, many came along, lean-

First day of
the retreat of
the English
army into
quarters.

* Story, i. p. 30.

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ing on their companions, or reeling, where their anxiety to be gone had made them attempt to walk without help. As it is natural for the human mind, when in dejection, to oppose whatever is proposed to it, the sick soldiers, who received orders to go to England, exclaimed they were now to be exposed to a merciless element, after having escaped from a merciless climate; and those who were to be sent to the hospital at Belfast, complained that their society in infection was only to be prolonged, and that they were unjustly detained from the care which their own friends and relations would have taken of them in their own country. Many, in a sullen despair, declared they would end their miseries where they had begun them: And the soldiers who were left behind, either because there were not carriages for them, or because they could not bear to be carried, mixed tender adieus with bitter execrations against their companions who forsook them. Upon the sight of all these things, men felt for the whole that pity which they had not felt for individuals: For public misery, as often happens, restored private virtue. Schomberg ordered the colonels and brigadiers to attend, like corporals and serjeants, upon the waggons, the ships, and the hospitals. He stood himself during many hours in the cold and rain, leaning upon a bridge, along which the long line of carriages, filled with disabled soldiers, passed in the sight of the army, to thank them for their services, to lament their distresses, to cherish their spirits, and to reprimand every officer who shewed not the same attention with himself; shaking with age, but more with the strength of affection. The Divinity has given to all men some portion of his own virtue. Touched with the generous sensibility of their general, the soldiers repented of all the clamours they had raised against him, and attentive only to his anguish, forgot their own. In the mean time, 200 of the enemies horse having appeared in sight, a false alarm was given, that their army was approaching to storm the lines. The healthy prepared to hasten back to defend a camp late the object of their horror; and the sick unbuckled the tents, which had been packed up for keeping them warm in the ships, in order to give their companions, who were returning to the camp, that shelter which they took

from themselves. With a spirited pleasantry, the soldiers said one to another, "The rogues shall now pay for the wet quarters, in which "they have kept us so long *."

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BUT the march of the army itself, next day, was more lamentable still, when the soldiers observed the diminution of their numbers, some companies † not having twelve men in them; the inability of many to bear the march, who, though they had appeared to be in health, had lost their strength; the bloom of English youth with which they had entered the camp, changed into the fallowness of old age in all; and marched through the dead and dying bodies of their friends who the preceding day had gone before them: Many who died in the passage ‡ had been cast upon the roads from the wag-gons; others had fallen off, or, unable to bear the jolting, had thrown themselves down; and of these some adjured their companions who were passing them, to bear them along, and others, by the blows of soldiers and of friends, to end all their miseries. Relations agree, that of 15,000 who, at different times, entered the English camp, above 8000 died in the camp, or soon after they left it; and the loss of the Irish was not much less ||.

2d day's re-
treat.

THE English know no intermediate line between success and defeat. Accustomed by their liberty, their wealth, their valour, and the security which the sea gives them, of insulting every where with impunity, they heard with the same indignation that Ireland was not conquered, as they would have heard that it was lost. It happened, that several who served the fleet and army, had been servants to the late King, and others were known to be of the tory party. The whigs therefore spread a report through the nation, which, in circumstances of difficulty, is always jealous, but, at this period of national division, was doubly so, that the miscarriages in Ireland were the effect of design. They asked, "Where was the "wonder that the servants of the late King, or those attached to "his interest, should embarrass a service directed against their ma- "ster?" Nothing was laid to the charge of accident, nothing to the looseness incident to a new and unsettled government, which

The whigs
impute the
misfortunes
of the army
to the tories.

* Story, i. p. 50.

† Story, 35.

‡ Story, i. p. 36.

|| Ibid.

had a variety of new objects to attend to at once, nothing to the avarice of contractors, nothing to displease itself. Schomberg escaped blame, under the pretence of pity for the usage he had met with. And some of deep and malignant reflection said, "The King kept the war alive, that he might have the glory of ending it himself."

The King
becomes un-
popular.

IN this situation, the King became unpopular in the same degree in which, the year before, he had been the idol of the people. His breach with the church, his differences with the whigs, or rather the breach of the church, and the differences of the whigs with him, together with the dark appearances of public events, had insensibly alienated the affections of the people. Even the imprudent and cruel measures of James's government in Ireland, irritated the spirits of men against the King's in England. With imbibed tempers, with gloomy forebodings, they first whispered to each other, and then exclaimed in public, "That the kingdom was equally doomed by Providence to ruin, whether the fate of war should bestow it upon a Prince who was an enemy, or upon one who was indifferent, to its interests." As, in moments of high passion, the passions are easily transferred to trifles, the manners, even the looks of the King, gave disgust to his English subjects. The facility of temper of James the First; the necessities under which his successor laboured; the magnanimity of Cromwell, which caused him to despise distance and form; the habits of pleasure of Charles the Second; and those of party-business of the late King, which he chose to manage by himself, and not by others; had made all these Princes easy of access, and had created an appearance of crowds, and ease, and bustle about their courts. Hence people of fashion in England had been long accustomed to look upon their sovereign, in some degree, as their companion, and upon his place of residence, as theirs. But William, who did not consider that Kings must be attentive even to trifles, because many of those who surround them are triflers, neglected the attentions of access: He was continually employed in his cabinet with his ministers, or in the field among his regiments, or in hunting the stag for his

health. He thought or pretended to think, that the smoke of London disagreed with him, and retired to Hampton-Court : A house which, because it was built upon a dead flat, and upon the banks of water stagnating to appearance, resembled a palace of Holland. He took pleasure in adorning it with sumptuous buildings and gardens, in the Dutch taste, and with those flowers, trees, and ornaments, which are the favourites of Holland : In the minds of some, even of the wise *, the solitude of the palace at London, seemed to throw a gloom upon its master. The citizens asked, "What offence had they committed to draw upon them the desertion of their Sovereign, and the loss of the usual festivity and pomp of a court?" Some complained, "That William was lavishing the national treasures upon his pleasures, at a time when the nation was drained by the consumptions of foreign and of civil war." Others said, "That, in the solitudes of his new palace and gardens, and in the prospects they afforded, he wished to forget that he was in England, and to bring the remembrance of his own country continually into his thoughts." The populace received their impressions, as they commonly do, from their senses. They remarked the King's small stature, the weak texture of his body, and, taking advantage of a peculiarity in his features, called him, in derision, "hook-nose : " William having been often warned of this growing dislike, endeavoured at last to remove it : He went † to the horse-races at Newmarket, mingling, according to the manners of his English subjects, among the meanest and the greatest of mankind : He submitted to the fatigues of an university-reception, and of a city-feast : He was made a tradesman of London at his own desire, and conferred knighthood upon the person who brought him his freedom : And he who was proud and a soldier, pretended to derive honour ‡ from being chosen master of the grocer's company. But the awkwardness with which he made these efforts, only betrayed the uneasiness he felt in being obliged to make them.

WHILE the minds of men were thus affected, the time arrived for the clergy to take the oaths to the new government, or to be suspended if they did not. Eight bishops, among whom were five of

The oaths refused by many of the church.

* Sir John Reresby.

† Gazette, Oct. 7.

‡ Ibid. Oct. 28.

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the six surviving prelates who had been sent to the Tower by King James, together with a great number of the church of England, refused to swear, and, of those who complied, many did it with a reservation of the distinction between a King *de facto*, and a King *de jure*. Soon after, the Bishop of Chichester, taking the sacrament upon his death-bed, dictated a declaration, in which he testified the inward satisfaction he felt in suffering for the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance: A weak declaration from a weak man! Yet, as the last words of a martyr, it was spread through the nation; and, at this period of civil and religious ferment, added the impulses of religion to those of party in enthusiastic minds.

NOTWITHSTANDING these untoward appearances, the King proceeded in the only idle project he ever formed, that of uniting the church of England and the more moderate dissenters in the doctrines, ceremonies, and establishment of religion. For this purpose he appointed a commission of the clergy to prepare the terms of a comprehension: And, although the house of commons had addressed him for a convocation, only with a view to disappoint his scheme, he summoned one in hopes of success.

Operations
of the com-
mission of the
clergy.

ALMOST as soon as the commission met, some, even of moderate principles in religion, such as the bishops of Rochester and Winchester, retired from it; being more afraid of breaking with their own order, than firm to their own principles. This intimidated the timid. Old names of disgrace, if transferred by the multitude to new projects, generally defeat them: The commission was branded with the name of *the new ecclesiastical commission*: This determined the irrefolute against innovations. The rest of the commissioners, however, proceeded, and drew up a number of concessions to be made to dissenters, in the forms and ceremonies of the church, all innocent, mostly immaterial.

Operations of
the convoca-
tion.

BUT the church seized the opportunity to rouse the nation, and to display her own importance to the King. The elections of members to the lower house of convocation were every where contest-

ed, with an ardour, equal to that which is commonly exhibited in elections to the lower house of parliament: A struggle, which discovered to the King, that he was only bringing new divisions and distractions upon his government. But it was too late to draw back; for, after the members were chosen, he could not dismiss them before they were assembled.

THE convocation, which met upon the 21st of November, was even opened with dissention: For Doctor Jane, the speaker of the lower house, in his inaugural speech, extolled the excellency of the church of England above all other churches, and concluded with the famous declaration of the antient English Barons, “*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*” The bishop of London, speaker of the upper house, on the contrary, reminded his audience, “That they ought to shew that indulgence to dissenters under King William, which they had promised in their addresses to King James.” The members having been privately sounded, as they came to town, were found to be refractory: The assembly was therefore adjourned, under pretence that the commission for convening it wanted the great seal; but in reality to give time for working upon the passions and interests of individuals. But attempts were in vain. When the convocation re-assembled, the upper house framed an address, in which they thanked the King “for his zeal for the protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular;” because these were the words which the King had made use of in his message, to which this address was an answer: But the lower house objected to the words, as too favourable to dissenters, and refused to concur in the address. Amendments were made; conferences were held upon these amendments; and, in both, the excess of criticism discovered the excess of suspicion*. Individuals cavilled at words, as if they had been

* The upper house had proposed in their address, to thank the King “for his zeal for the protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular.” The lower sent a message to the upper house, “That they desired to confine their address to those things only which concern the church of England.” This produced a conference. The lower house signified they would agree to say “Protestant churches,” instead of “Protestant religion.” The upper house desired

matters of importance, and then indeed made them important by obstinacy in their own opinions, and the violence of their opposition to those of others. All the subtleties and vehemence of temper peculiar to ecclesiastical assemblies appeared in this short struggle of a few days, upon the words of the address. The dissenters looked on, sensible of the illiberality of others, but inattentive to their own. Some of the enemies of government wished to see the comprehension take place, in hopes, that, from the union, a new source of division might arise, and that, in that division, the party attached to the old church would naturally join itself to the party which was attached to the old King. But the convocation, instead of proceeding to the business for which it had been summoned, turned off to express their indignation against some heretical books, and to consult how their authors might be punished. The scheme of comprehension was therefore not proposed to them: The session was adjourned: And the King at last became sensible, how much easier it was to unite seven provinces, and an hundred towns, many of them against their inclinations, and one half of the states of Europe, many of them against their antient alliances, in one common bond of political union, than to join fellow Britons, fellow Protestants, men connected by friendship, relation, alliance, country, and interest, in one common mode of the protestant religion.

Campaign
abroad.

THE campaign of this summer was unfavourable for France. The French having ravaged the Palatinate *, with a barbarity unknown to the Goths and Vandals, sparing neither the temples of the Deity, nor the tombs nor the palaces of Princes; all Germany had united against them in revenge. The Duke of Lorrain, who had been expelled from his own dominions by the French, reconquered, in

a reason for this. The lower answered, "They did not think fit to mention religion any farther than as it is the religion of some formed established church." The upper house then proposed to say, "The interest of the protestant religion, in this and all other protestant churches." But the other objected, that these words put all protestant countries upon a level with the church of England, and insisted to leave out the words, "this, and," which was agreed to.—Tindal, with the authorities he quotes.

* Siecle de Louis XIV.

in conjunction with the Elector of Brandenburg, many of the places upon the Rhine, which the French had seized, while the Prince of Orange was employed in his expedition to England; and Prince Waldeck, with the Dutch and English under his command, defeated the French at Wallcourt. But these actions were only preludes to the war; and both sides prepared themselves for greater events in the course of it.

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A little time before the convocation met, the King had assembled his parliament upon the 19th of October. But reflecting, that, in the last session, his measures had been obstructed, partly on account of the ministers he employed, he now informed the privy-council, that the speech he had prepared for parliament, was composed by himself, and not as usual by his ministers; and he desired Lord Halifax to yield his Presidency of the House of Lords, and removed him from his confidence, with the same indifference with which he had admitted him to both. His speech betrayed the extensive foreign projects which continually occupied his mind. For, of the service needed for Ireland, he said nothing: He insisted, "that the supplies should be granted with speed, because, in the ensuing month, there was to be a congress at the Hague, of all the states engaged in the war, for concerting the measures of the campaign. Without these supplies, he could not know in what resolutions to concur, nor, without them, would the allies take any joint measures with him." The miscarriages of last summer, he laid upon the lateness of the supplies which had been granted; a shrewd insinuation, which took the blame off his servants, at the same time that it suggested the necessity of furnishing what he wanted in better time for the future. In order to please the Tories, he concluded with again recommending a bill of indemnity.

The parliament meets;

Two days after, the King turned the adjournment of the parliament into a prorogation, with a view to quash the resolutions and bills which had created disputes in the last session. But the commons saw through the intention; and, on the second day after they were reassembled *, appointed one committee to inspect

and proceeds in the footsteps of last session.
October 24.

* Journ. H. of Com. Oct. 24, 25, 26, 28.

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and report the bills which had been in dependance, and another to examine the proceedings of last session against the state-prisoners in the Tower. And then they followed the footsteps of the former session : For, in the course of a few days, they recommitted those state-prisoners who had been bailed ; they resolved to charge the Earls of Salisbury and Peterborough, Sir Edward Hales, and Mr. Walker, with high-treason, for their conversion to popery, and the Earl of Castlemain for having endeavoured to reconcile the nation to the see of Rome ; they prepared indeed a bill of indemnity, but they prepared also to disappoint it, by meeting it with a bill of pains and penalties against the delinquents of the late reign ; they named a committee to examine into the miscarriages of last summer by sea and land ; and declined still to make the Princess Sophia's succession a part of the bill of rights ; although, to shew that this reluctance was not in compliment to the abdicated family, they afterwards agreed to a clause from the Lords, that a papist should be incapable of wearing the crown*.

Inquiries into
offences
in the late
reigns.

THE commons, after these measures, resolved upon a supply of two millions, and upon the funds for raising it. But here they stopped ; and, instead of carrying the resolutions for supply, and for the funds, into bills, they proceeded to inquire into the faults of government, intending to make the bills themselves the price of the King's compliance with national vengeance. Several things contributed to this. The whigs, by inquiring into the delinquencies of the two late reigns, and the tories into those of the present reign, hoped to fix indelible stains upon each other. Many of the whig-party too joined the tories in exposing late miscarriages, either from love of the public, or from hatred of the Lords Hallifax, Caermarthen, and Nottingham, the objects of their party's aversion, or in order to get other men removed from their places, that way might be made for themselves. And numbers were drawn into both inquiries, from a curiosity and love of finding fault incident to human kind. The commons ordered a bill for the forfeiture of Lord Jefferys, although he was dead ; and resolved to charge his estate with

* Journ. H. of Com. November 2, 7, 8, 9, 6.

£. 15,000 to Mr. Prideaux, although it be a maxim of all laws, that the crime of the ancestor cannot affect the heir, at the suit of a private party. They resolved, that the executors of Sir Thomas Armstrong should have reparation out of the estates of his prosecutors and judges, though some of them were dead. An attack of the same kind came from a quarter from whence it was less expected. The house of Lords, upon a motion made by the Duke of Bolton, named a committee to enquire * who were the advisers and prosecutors in the murders (as they were called) of Lord Russell, Mr. Sidney, and others executed for the Rye-house plot; who were the advisers of *quo warrantos*, the regulators and the public assertors of the dispensing power. Messengers were sent to the commons, desiring the attendance of several of their members to give information to the committee upon these subjects. The commons, consented. But the interposition of the court to prevent revenge from running to extremes, the forgiveness of those who had been injured, the delicacy of the persons whose attendance was asked, and who were afraid of being accounted informers, were the causes why that information was not given which was wished for. Besides, the greater part of the peers were averse to all inquiries into the transactions of the late reign. For, with a view to stop such inquiries, they ordered the judges † to draw a bill for allowing the dispensing power in proper cases; an order which admitted that such a power existed; and they refused ‡ to declare, that the regulating of corporations was illegal.

FROM the faults of the late, the commons turned to those of the present, government. The committee appointed to inquire into miscarriages in the army and navy, were supported with votes to enable them to pry into the most minute articles of service §.

* Journ. H. of Com. November 13. † Journ. H. of Lords, Nov. 22. ‡ Ibid. Jan. 23. § By vote of the 8th November, the committee was empowered to inquire into the state of the stores, the arrears due to soldiers and seamen, and the numbers of effective men in the regiments. By vote of 9th November, all, who should give information of abuses in the victualling of the fleet, were assured of the protection of the house. By vote of 12th November, power was given to the committee to inquire into the prices and quality of the victuals for the seamen, and from whom the victuals were got.

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When the inclination of the commons for receiving complaints was discovered, numbers were presented. The officers exclaimed, "That the army in Ireland had wanted provisions, cloaths, shoes, and medicines;" the seamen, "that they had been fed on victuals destructive to health." The merchants, in the great trading towns, complained: "The seas were not guarded, their seamen were pressed to excess, and the captains of the navy exacted convoy-money for the little protection they gave." And the merchants of London presented a petition to the commons, setting forth, "That, from want of convoys, they had, in less than a year, lost 100 ships, worth £. 600,000." Informations and murmurs came from all quarters; and the nation stood aghast, each distrusting his neighbour, and all believing that treachery had insinuated itself into every department of service.

Attacks upon
on commissary
Shales.

Novem. 11.

Novem. 23.

SOME resolutions which were voted by the commons, partly from attention to national interest, but more from party-views, increased the public jealousies. They voted *, that the trade of the nation had been obstructed through want of convoys, and expelled † Captain Churchill, one of their members, for having taken convoy-money. He was brother to Lord Churchill, and the first of King James's sea-officers who carried his ship to the Prince of Orange when he arrived in England. They committed ‡ the commissioners of the navy to prison; and by this proceeding, obliged the King to dismiss them. But all discontented persons directed their attacks chiefly against Mr. Shales, a man who had been commissary-general of provisions to the late King's camp at Hounslow, who, by advice of the privy-council, had been sent in the same station to Ireland with the Duke of Schomberg, and through whose sides, therefore, some hoped to wound the tory party, and others the ministers who had employed him. The commons began with an address || to send persons to Ireland to take an account of the numbers and condition of the army. Another soon followed §, to take Shales into custody, to place another in his room, and to seize his papers, although they knew

* Journ. H. of Com. November 14. † Ibid. November 18. ‡ Ibid. November 23. || Ibid. November 11. § Ibid. November 23.

before hand, that the King * had done these things already. They concluded with a third, in which they prayed the King † to let the house know, "by whose advice he had employed Shales." In framing the terms of this last address, the commons laid their complaints against Shales, more upon his disaffection than his covetousness, insinuating at the same time, that many, as disaffected as he, were in places of trust around the King. William, in answer to the last of these addresses, said verbally, "Gentlemen, it is impossible for me "to answer this question." But, in answer to the first, he sent a message, "That he would leave it to themselves, to name not "only the persons who should go over to Ireland, to examine the "state of the army, but also those who should overlook the preparations for the ensuing service there : " A conduct which showed attention both to his own personal dignity, and to his people. The commons, returning the compliment to the King, left the nomination of the persons to himself, and presented an address of thanks for his condescension.

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Nov. 28.

BUT, while individuals were thus indulging their public or private passions at leisure in parliament, the public interest was neglected. No money-bill had been even once read, and no public bill, except the bill of rights, had passed the commons, although the session had now lasted six weeks. The King, therefore, grew impatient. He exclaimed with an openness and a heat, not usual to the closeness and phlegm of his temper ‡ : "The public interest was "lost in the private passions of party. A King, without a revenue for life, was no better than a pageant of State. The rulers "of a republic might be poor, yet honoured ; but a Prince, to be "respected, must be rich. There were gradations in the qualities "of governments ; but the worst of all was a monarchy dependent "for subsistence upon its subjects." Those, who were attached to the King's interest, took advantage, therefore, of the popularity they thought he had acquired by having committed the care of the Irish service to parliament, and moved for a day to consider how to raise

The King's
impatience
about his
revenue.

* The King's warrant for seizing him was dated Nov. 6. Vide Journ. House of Commons Nov. 27.

† Ibid. Nov. 28.

‡ Burnet.

PART II.
BOOK IV.

1689.

Dec. 1.

Dec. 9.

Dec. 14.

The commons resolve upon an address of disapprobation.

King relieved by the corporation-bill;

the two millions which had been voted in the beginning of the session; but, to their astonishment, they lost the motion*, by a vote of 182 to 139. Mortifications thickened upon the King: Next day†, a bill was ordered for the continuance of the revenue, only during a year. The bills for a land-tax of three shillings in the pound passed the house indeed; but the success of them was owing to the Tories. Soon after, the commons shewed so little delicacy to the King, that they appointed a committee to inquire into the application of his revenue.

BUT the affront, by far the most hurting to the King's honour at home and abroad, was a resolution of the commons for a solemn address upon the general state of the nation, "to lay before the King the miscarriages in the army and the fleet, to desire him to find out the authors of them, and to appoint his affairs to be managed by persons unsuspected, and more to his safety and the satisfaction of his subjects." And the committee, which was‡ named to draw up this address, did it in terms the most injurious to the conduct of the throne, under pretence of enumerating the faults of its ministers. The King then at last perceived to what point all the late inquiries into the details of the execution of service had tended; and found, that he was brought into this dilemma, either to submit to the ignominy of the address to himself, and the danger of it to his ministers, or to lose all hopes of the supplies, which were still unprovided for the public service.

THE history of a government which depends upon the management of parties, and of freemen, must be filled with reverses of fortune, unforeseen even by those who lose or gain by them. The King was relieved from the immediate distress of his situation, by a too open attempt of the whig-party to secure that power for ever, of which they were now possessed. A bill had been brought into the house of commons, in the beginning of the session, for restoring corporations to their original state, before they had been modelled in the two late reigns. The whigs, conscious that the greatest share of the property and interest of the kingdom

* Journal H. of Com. Dec. 1.

† Ibid. Dec. 2.

‡ Ibid. Dec. 21.

lay in the hands of their antagonists, now brought a clause into this bill, to disable for seven years all persons to be electors in corporations, who had been any how accessory to the modelling of them: A clause which would have excluded almost all of the tory party from being members for boroughs during that period. The tory-members saw the importance of the blow to themselves and their families. They flew to pay that court to the King, which he was just ready to have paid to them; and promised to join the court in opposing the address, and in promoting the supplies, if the court would join them in defeating the clause of the corporation-bill. The discontented whigs, on the other hand, made apologies for past disrespect, promised better behaviour for the future, and, in testimony of their sincerity, offered their immediate service in the proceedings of parliament. The King, who, a little time before, had seen himself subject to one party, and the other to appearance alienated from him, now found himself master of both. The first mark which all parties gave of their submission was a general agreement to recommit the address*; and it was heard of no more. They then revived † the bills for the taxes which had been voted in the beginning of the session, and which had lain dormant and neglected ever since; ordered new ones ‡ for new taxes; and carried both through as fast as the forms of the house would permit. And, in evidence of their loyalty, they committed one of their members to the Tower, for declining to take the new oaths: A severity which had not been hitherto exercised!

PART II.
BOOK IV.
1689.

is courted by parties.

Dec. 21.

BUT the King's satisfaction was short lived. Lady Marlborough, who felt her own pride affronted in the disappointment which the King had given last session to the settlement of a revenue upon her mistress, now resumed her project, with the greater keenness, because it was her own, and because it had failed of success. Besides, she hoped, by drawing down sufferings upon the Princess and herself, to increase, by the firmest cement of friendship, society in affliction, the strength of a tenderness between them, which already resembled more the passion of lovers than of friends. She irri-

Dissentions revived in the royal family.

* Journ. H. of Com. Dec. 21. † Ibid. Dec. 30. and 31. ‡ Ibid. Dec. 30. Jan. 1. Jan. 3.

tated the Princess against the King and Queen by envy, by jealousy, but chiefly by pride derived from the dependence of her condition. She reminded her, "That by her the Prince of Orange had been invited into England: Her husband she had sent to join his standards when he arrived: For him she had fled from her father's palace: For him she had surrendered her children's rights and her own: It was she who had placed the crown upon his head. And now, in return for all these favours, he not only kept her in private in a miserable dependence upon himself for a revenue, but had affronted her in public by adjourning that parliament which felt her wrongs, and was eager to redress them." She conveyed * to the ears of her mistress some words which had once dropped from the King at the treasury, about her expences: A place which it was scarcely possible for him to enter, without being reminded of his wants. Irritated by such expressions, the Princess became every day more alienated from her sister and the King: And they, in return, either complained of her discontents, or treated them with a neglect that was still more provoking. These things, at first whispered through the court, were soon conveyed through the parliament and the nation; and the piques of women became the quarrels of parties, and of the public.

In this situation, Lady Marlborough's arts and violence got the Princess's revenue brought anew into the house of commons. Although all court the present sovereign power, few chuse to offend that in reversion: Many, even of the firmest friends to the King, made their excuses, that they could not in decency oppose the interest of the Queen's sister: Apologies, which intimated sufficiently to the King, what was thought decent in him. He sent, therefore, the Earl of Shrewsbury, to offer the Princess a revenue of £. 50,000 a year, if she would stop the interposition of parliament; and humbled himself so far, as to desire the Earl to make his application to Lady Marlborough, before he went to her mistress †. Lord Shrewsbury obeyed; and, among other arguments which he used with Lady Marlborough, having said, "That if the King

* Duchess of Marlborough.

† Ibid.

kept not his word, he would serve him no longer." She answered with imperiousness, "That, my Lord, may bind you, but what shall bind the King?" When he waited on the Princess, she answered in terms more suited indeed to her dignity and the King's, but, through which, similar distrusts were observable. The King saw the advantage which the Princess had over him, and opposed a parliamentary settlement no longer. To the commons, who addressed him to settle upon the Princess £. 50,000 a year out of his revenue *, though it could not support himself, he answered with that grace which distinguishes the actions of the great from those of the vulgar, when they are obliged to do a thing they dislike; "Gentlemen, whatsoever comes from the house of commons is so agreeable to me, and particularly this address, that I will do what you desire." Of those who felicitated the Princess upon her success, the loudest were the adherents of the late King, who wisely considered, that the surest road to his restoration was through a breach between his daughters: Congratulations, therefore, which might have shown her, that she had no great reason to glory in the victory she had obtained.

PART III
BOOK IV.

1689.

The Princess
Anne gets
her revenue
settled.
Dec. 30.

BUT now the time arrived, when William was reduced to the necessity of declaring himself in favour either of the whigs or of the tories, by the conduct he was to observe with regard to the corporation-bill: For the whigs in the house of commons had †, by a great majority, carried their clause excluding regulators from elections. The King hesitated greatly, conscious, that, if the bill passed into a law, he should continue forever the slave of the whigs; and, if he disappointed it, that he must break with those who had placed him upon the throne, and trust himself to a party which he dreaded, and which he suspected dreaded him. That part of the whigs which had promoted the measures of the court, and that part which had opposed them, forgetting their late separation, joined in reminding him of past services, and in warning him against future dangers. The tories, on the other hand, brought past and recent transactions to his view. "The whigs," they said

The King's
distress,
whether to
take side with
the wigs or
the tories.

Arguments
of the tories.

* Journ. House of Commons, Dec. 21, 30.

† Ibid. Jan. 2.

PART III.

BOOK IV.

1689.

" had opposed the pacific King James, had murdered the virtuous
 " Charles, after that Prince's death had tried all forms of govern-
 " ment, and been contented with none, had tormented the care-
 " less Charles II. had attempted to exclude the late King from the
 " succession, and had in the end dethroned him. None of these
 " actions flowed from a sense of freedom, but merely from a spirit
 " of opposition to royal power, in men, part of whom made the
 " love of liberty a cloak for their ambition, and the rest of whom
 " knew not how to enjoy liberty: For none had shown themselves
 " greater tyrants when in power, than that whig-parliament which
 " had overturned monarchy. For these men he had ventured his
 " person and his country: In return, they had given him a crown
 " indeed, but reserved the scepter to themselves. They refused
 " that revenue to him whom they called their deliverer, which
 " they had not scrupled to bestow on one whom they accounted
 " their tyrant. They had urged him into a war, only to make
 " him dependent from his necessities; and given him temporary
 " aids, and these insufficient, only to mark his subjection, and their
 " importance. Not contented with prying into all the secrets of
 " his government, and then exposing them to the world, they,
 " who pretended to be its only friends, had kept the door open
 " for the abdicated family, by opposing the admission of the Ha-
 " noverian line to the prospect of the succession. But the truth
 " was, all kings were to them indifferent: By displacing one, and
 " attempting to keep another in fetters, they only meant to pave
 " the way for that republic to which they and their ancestors had
 " ever pointed. Even the Scotch, once obedient to reigns which the
 " whigs called tyrannical, they had roused, by their example,
 " into opposition to the present reign of freedom. They had
 " discovered equal jealousy of his countrymen, their own, and
 " himself. For, instead of proceeding to the united public service
 " of Holland and England, they had spent their time in passing votes
 " against their fellow-subjects, in complaining of their allies, and
 " in carrying their insults to the foot of the throne, under the
 " pretence of addressing it. Their views, though partial and nar-
 " row, were devouring and unbounded; seeing they were not sa-

"tified with excluding at present all other parties from all power,
 "unless they were also made secure of possessing that power in
 "all time to come: A power which he should not be the
 "last to oppose, since he must be the first to feel the weight
 "of it. Yet, impotent to serve him, they had not been able
 "to advance that scheme of comprehension which he had
 "eagerly desired, and which it was their own interest to have
 "accomplished. Ever since the disputes between the King and
 "people ran high, the tories had supported the interests of the
 "crown, had reined the madness of the multitude, and at one pe-
 "riod had buried themselves under the ruins of the throne. To
 "their late Sovereign, they had continued faithful, as long as he
 "was faithful to himself or his people. Most of them had respect-
 "ed the rights of the son, though friendless, and absent, and an in-
 "fant, after those of the father deserved to be defended no longer.
 "But, to the voice of their country, at last, they had yielded: And,
 "when they did so, they transferred their loyalty with their
 "allegiance; and would support the throne on which that country
 "had placed him, because it was the centre of the constitution, and
 "the barrier against republican innovations. They had concur-
 "red with the whigs in inviting him to England: But they would
 "not now concur with them, in making him repent that he had
 "accepted the invitation. In their party, were to be found the an-
 "cient families, the great landed interest, all the weight of the
 "church of England, which could make or unmake kings at its
 "pleasure. Placed at the head of the tories, he might be the Sove-
 "reign of a people obedient and lovers of order: But, at the head
 "of the whigs, he could be no more than the leader of a party, whom
 "no King could ever govern, and no God could ever please."

THE whig-party, on the other hand, remonstrated to the King: Arguments
 of the whigs.
 "Every constitution had its own principles, upon which it was
 "founded, in the spirit of the people. The principle of the English
 "constitution was liberty. Of this liberty the whigs had conti-
 "nually been the assertors. For her, they had dyed the fields of
 "England with their blood. The very scaffolds which they had
 G g g

“ mounted so often for the sake of the people, insured them, that
 “ the people would for ever be upon their side in return. It was
 “ not associations of country land-holders, nor the prayers of
 “ churchmen, which commanded the fates of free nations, but
 “ multitudes of free subjects. The whole reign of Charles I. pre-
 “ sented one continued proof, that the authority of the landed
 “ interest and of the church, was weak against the force of the peo-
 “ ple. The refusal of the soldiers and seamen to fight, together with
 “ the insurrections in every county, at the late revolution, made
 “ it manifest how much the government of England depended on
 “ the many, and how little on the few. And even, from the pre-
 “ valency of the whig-party in the present parliament, the power
 “ and the inclination of the people might be gathered. Possessed
 “ of the great cities, and the great companies, all the monied in-
 “ terest lay in the hands of the whigs. But in a commercial na-
 “ tion, and still more, when that nation was engaged in war, the
 “ monied was of equal importance with the landed power: For,
 “ without the aid of those who were able immediately to make
 “ advances upon the faith of government, no funds could be rai-
 “ sed: And, without funds, no war could be supported; seeing
 “ wars were not conducted now as in former times, by the vas-
 “ sals of Lords and Bishops, but by mercenary soldiers, fighting
 “ only for pay, and no longer than they received it. It was the
 “ whig party thus supported, which, at one period, had endeavour-
 “ ed, by the bill of exclusion, to anticipate his elevation to the
 “ throne, and, at another, had placed him upon it. Their prin-
 “ ciples of the supreme jurisdiction of the people were blended
 “ with his own title; and, unless he made their principles
 “ prevalent in the nation, he must himself pass for an usurper.
 “ The tories had, on the contrary, long imbibed the principles of
 “ indefeasible hereditary right. For these, they had yielded to all
 “ the idle theories of James the First about prerogative; had con-
 “ curred in all the violences of the former part of the reign of
 “ Charles the First, and the latter part of his successor’s, drawing
 “ down mischiefs at both periods upon that cause of royalty which
 “ they thought they were serving; had submitted to the tyranny

“ of King James; and would have done so still, had he not inva-
 “ ded the church. For these, part of them had endeavoured to
 “ save the right of James’s son, only because they could not save
 “ his own; and the rest still adhered to himself: For many of the
 “ peers and old gentry had refused to take the new oaths: Even
 “ the bishops whom that Prince had persecuted had acted the
 “ same part. Great numbers of the clergy of the church of Eng-
 “ land followed the example; and most of those who complied,
 “ did it in a way which discovered that they preferred their King
 “ to their God. Even the sufferings of the tories in the cause of
 “ the abdicated family, during half a century past, had attached
 “ them more firmly to it; because people naturally love those ob-
 “ jects for which they have been persecuted. But men changed
 “ not in an instant the principles of their lives; and, where they
 “ seemed to do so, the very offer should create suspicion: Sooner
 “ or later the tories would return to their former principles; be-
 “ cause, after betraying a Prince whom they loved, and pretend-
 “ ing to serve one whom they disliked, they could hope, by the
 “ success of a double treachery alone, to make their own shame
 “ be forgot in the nation’s. The example of Scotland might teach
 “ him what he was to expect from such new friends: For those
 “ tories, who had hastened to London with offers of their services,
 “ had gone back to their own country with much greater haste to
 “ disappoint them. Would he connect himself against those
 “ who were naturally his friends, with those who were naturally
 “ his enemies, and contribute to a disgrace which could not fail
 “ to draw after it his own? The whig party, by delaying to give
 “ him a perpetual revenue, had contrived, by the ties of a mū-
 “ tual dependence, to bind him and his people faster together;
 “ and every English monarch would find, that the surest basis of
 “ his throne was his popularity. Even if it was possible for the
 “ tories to be faithful to an interest so opposite to their interest, a
 “ tory King could be no more than the ruler of slaves, whose very
 “ obedience must affront him; but, at the head of the whigs,
 “ he would find himself accounted the father and friend of a free
 “ people, whose very difference in sentiment threw honour upon

PART II.
BOOK IV.

1689.

The King
proposes to
retire to
Holland ;but in the
end deter-
mines for
the tories,
and to com-
mand the
army in Ire-
land.Struggle be-
twixt the
whigs and
tories in par-
liament.
Jan. 10.

“ that sovereign from whom they differed, because it marked can-
dour and spirit in the nation he commanded.”

WILLIAM, pressed by the sense of recent affronts on one side, yet fearing the imputation of ingratitude and imprudence upon the other, sensible of his danger on all sides, and irresolute from what he saw and what he heard, once leaned, or pretended to lean, to the desperate project of quitting England, retiring to Holland, and leaving the Queen to govern a people, whom he found himself unable to please or to manage. He communicated this project, with tears, to Lord Caermarthen, Lord Shrewsbury, and a few others, in hopes that from their own danger, or from tenderness to him, they might soften the mutual animosities of the parties they conducted. With tears, such as statesmen shed, they dissuaded him. Yet the rage of party ceased not ; and each pressed, as before, for a declaration of the royal sentiments in its favour. Believing these tears to be real, or scorning them if he thought they were affected, William formed at last the resolution of giving a preference to the tories, of calling a new parliament, of going over to Ireland, and of leaving the Queen to co-operate with that tory-party, which, though seemingly averse to him, had been always favourable to the interests of her family.

THE first symptoms of the effect of these resolutions appeared in the fate of the amendments to the corporation-bill : The King, having thrown the court-interest into that of the tories, the amendments, after several trying votes, in which the tories had generally a majority of above ten *, were rejected. All the force of parties was then exerted to procure the success or the defeat of the bill of indemnity ; and, in order that their strength might be more fairly tried, when the objects of dispute were united, the bills of indemnity, and of pains and penalties †, were ordered to be incorporated into one bill. The whigs moved, that the proceedings of the committee upon it should be by the nomination of particular persons, but the tories over-ruled the motion ‡ by a majority of 17 ;

* Journ. house of commons, Jan. 10.

† Ibid. Jan. 16.

‡ Ibid Jan. 21.

the numbers being 190 to 173. The tories * also disappointed several attempts to get reparation for sufferers in the reign of Charles the Second, out of the estates of their judges and prosecutors. Yet they gave way to the expulsion of Sir Robert Sawyer the late King's attorney-general, and to a vote which classed almost all the malversations of the late reign under certain heads of exceptions from indemnity; unwilling, on the one hand, to undertake the unpopular task of defending the late King's measures; and, on the other, conscious of the King's promise to grant an act of grace to those who had been concerned in them.

PART II.
BOOK IV.

1689.

In the mean time, a project was formed for an address against his going to Ireland, by the whigs, in order to embarrass him; by the malcontents to his title, lest his presence in Ireland should crush that interest which in private they espoused; and by both, under pretence that his health might be endangered in a climate in which his army had last summer perished. But, while this project was forming, and even at an hour when the commons were debating upon the incorporated bill of indemnity and pains, the King sent for them to the house of Lords, and, under pretence of applying himself to preparations for his expedition to Ireland, prorogued the parliament. A few days after, he dissolved it. And he, and the majority of the commons, parted with mutual accusations of ingratitude †.

A project to keep the King from going to Ireland.

Jan. 27.
Disappointed by his dissolving the parliament.

* Journ. house of com. Jan. 22. and 26.

† In the year 1739, the Bentinck family in Holland printed a few copies of a letter from King William to Lord Portland, dated at Kensington 10-20th January 1690, in order to clear up some part of that Lord's conduct, with regard to Dutch affairs. Lord Elibank, whose lady was daughter to Mr. Elimut, high treasurer of the united provinces, and connected with the Bentinck family, was so obliging as to give me one of these printed copies. In the two following passages of this letter, written at different times of the day, there is a curious picture of the state of the King's mind at this time.

“ C'est aujourd'huy le grand jour a la Ch. Bas, sur le Bill des Corporations; a
“ la fin de ma lettre je vous en manderes l'issue, puis que je vous escriis a present a-
“ vant midi: Je trouve que les gens commencent a estre fort en peine de mon voy-
“ age en Irlande, sur tout les Wigs, qui ont peur de me perdre trop tost avant qu'ils
“ n'ayent fait avec moy ce qu'ils veulent; car pour leur amitie vous savez ce qu'il y

1689.

Victory of
the whigs.

MEMOIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN

THE tories of the house of commons signalized their victory, according to a custom frequent in England, by dining in a tavern together. From thence they sent a verbal message to the King by Sir John Lowther; in which, among other compliments, they assured him that his supplies should be speedily and effectually given: A message which was spread through the nation by the tories, to display their loyalty, and by the whigs to point out the abuse of it. Soon after the King removed many of the whigs from their places, and put tories in their stead. The most remarkable of the former were Lord Godolphin, Lord Delamere, Lord Mordaunt from the head of the treasury, and Lord Torrington from that of the admiralty; the first, because he was deemed too much attached to the Princess of Denmark, the two next, because they opposed the court without ceremony, and the last, chiefly with a view, by giving an object to the clamours of the nation against the conduct of the marine department, to take them off the king. Sir John Lowther, in return for the message he had brought, was placed at the head of the treasury. The lieutenancy of London was directed to be put entirely into tory-hands, in order to show, that the King trusted the safety of his own person, and of most of the wealth of the kingdom, to that party. Lord Cornbury's and the duke of Ormond's regiments * were taken from them, because Lord Cornbury was in the Princess of Denmark's family, and both had acted

“ a conter la dessus en ce Pais ici; je n'ay encore rien dit de mon dessein au Par-
 “ lement, mais je crois de le faire la semaine prochaine; cependant je commence
 “ a faire preparer mon equipage, et tout le monde en parle publiquement: Il sera
 “ necessaire que vous disiez a Mr de Ginckel et autres officiers, qui doivent reve-
 “ nir ici avec ce qui leur est necessaire de recrues tant d'hommes que de chevaux,
 “ s'ils en achètent en Hollande, de ce preparer a parti de la, au commencement de
 “ Fevrier vieux stile, puisque certainement ils commenceront de marcher d'ici au
 “ commencement de Mars, — Il est a present onze eures de nuit et a dix eures
 “ la Ch. Bas estoit encore ensemble; ainsi je ne vous puis ecrire par cette ordi-
 “ naire l'issue de l'affaire. Les *previos* questions les toris l'ont emporte de cinq
 “ voix; ainsi vous pouvez juger que la chose est bien disputee; j'ay si grand sommeil,
 “ et mon tous m'incommode, que je ne vous en saurois dire d'avantage. Jusques a
 “ mourir a vous.” Compare Clarendon's Diary, Jan. 10.

with keenness as her friends. The privy-seal was taken from Lord Hallifax; an event in which no party took an interest, because he was steady to none. Lord Shrewsbury, irritated * by the disgrace of his friends and of his party, threw up the seals. This alone hurt the King, because he felt that *he had drawn the breach of private friendship upon himself.*

Thus, in the space of little more than a year after William was upon the throne, he dismissed that parliament, and broke with that party which had placed him upon it.

* Clarendon's Diary, May 13. 1690. April 28. 29. June 3. 1690.

B O O K V.

PART II.
BOOK V.
1690.

THE King's Strength in the new Parliament.—Disputes between the Whigs and Tories.—The first Conspiracy against the Government.—State of William and James in Ireland.—The Conspiracy discovered in England.—Invasion.—English Fleet defeated at Beachy-head—Emotions in England upon the News of the Defeat.—The King's Arts to keep up the Spirits of his Army in Ireland.—Motions and Stations of the Armies, and Battle of the Boyne.—James's Flight to France.—Louis drops the Scheme of an Invasion.—The King's Progress in Ireland—He is obliged to raise the Siege of Limerick.—Success of Lord Marlborough's Expedition against Cork and Kingsale.—Vigorous Measures in Parliament—Torrington's Trial.—Miseries of Ireland during the Winter.—Manners of the Rapparees, with their Causes.

The King's strength in the new parliament.

IN a country in which the tories had been in power, with no long interruption, during four reigns, possessed the greatest part of the land-property, had the church upon their side, and were now assisted by the interest * of the court, the returns to the new house of commons could not fail to be made in favour of that party. Encouraged by this, William, whose preparations for Ireland were not ready so soon as he expected, resolved to meet his new parliament before he set out, instead of leaving the management of it to the Queen in his absence. It met upon the 21st of March. His speech discovered the consciousness which he had of his own

* Clarendon's Diary, Feb. 29.

1690.

strength: He said, "he desired they would forthwith make a settlement of the revenue, and that, in doing so, he expected they would show as much regard to the dignity of the crown in his person as they had lately shown to it in the persons of other princes." As if already granted, he offered it as a fund of credit for raising money to be repaid at a more convenient season. Instead of waiting till they sent him a bill of indemnity, he informed them, that he intended to send them an act of grace, in which only a few persons were to be excepted. He concluded with saying, "That, as he was going immediately to Ireland, their session would be short, and therefore that they ought not to spend that time in debates, which the enemy would spend in the field."

THE whig-party of the commons, being sensible, that all opposition to the great interests of government was now in vain, readily concurred with the tories* in raising the proper supplies for the year, and in settling the excise, and the hereditary revenue, with the exception of the hearth-money, upon the King and Queen, with a survivancy. But the customs were given only for the term of four years; because the tories, who had not as yet a compleat confidence in the King, did not chuse to make him independent for a longer term, and because the whigs thought even that term too long. The King complained of the jealousy marked by the limitation. He was answered, "That money would be more freely advanced upon a grant which had a certain duration, than upon one dependent upon life; and that, as the present settlement of the revenue was a precedent for adjusting the revenue of succeeding princes, a concession by him which discovered his confidence in his subjects, would make his memory immortal." He saw the insincerity of the argument, but suppressed his dissatisfaction.

29th March.

BUT the tories were not contented with their superiority in promoting William's measures, unless the nation should be sensible of it in other things likewise. The commons, by a majority of 49†, presented an address of thanks to the King, for the alterations he had directed in the lieutenancy of London; and carried

The tories
insult the
whigs.

* Jour. h. of commons, March 29. April 2. 3. 1690. † Ibid. April 9. 24.

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1695.

The whigs
return the
injury.

The King
prorogues
the parlia-
ment to pre-
vent dis-
putes.

The first
conspiracy
against the
government.

the vanity of victory so far, as to present it in a body. In order to affront the dissenters, who in the late reign had entered into offices without taking the sacramental test, a bill passed the commons for levying the L. 500 penalties from them*; and to make the affront the stronger, when a motion was made for levying the penalties from papists†, it was over-ruled. The Lords on their sides passed the act of grace, without one contradictory voice; and, while the bill was read, and whilst they voted‡, they all stood up uncovered: With a kind of insult, the peers mentioned the circumstance of their unanimity in their message to the commons.

THE whigs returned these injuries: For they brought a bill into the house of Lords, recognizing the King to be rightful sovereign, and that the acts of the late parliament were good and valid; and another into both houses, to oblige all in public employment to take an oath of abjuration of the late King: Bills calculated to expose the tories, if they gave up their former tenets in compliment to the King, or to provoke him against that party, if they maintained consistency with themselves. The former of these bills|| passed, with difficulty, through the Lords, but with ease through the Commons; because the tory-peers were restrained from changing their opinions on a sudden, by the decency of rank, as well as of character, but the tory commons, by the decency of character alone. The abjuration oath** occasioned still more violent contests in both houses; but the King generously interposed in private, and it was dropped. The tories, in return, agreed to an oath of fidelity to the King, to be taken by all above 16 years of age. But William removed all disputes upon this and other subjects, by proroguing the parliament upon the 23d of May.

IN the mean time, William's intention of going to Ireland had suggested to his enemies to seize the advantage which his absence

* To prevent the King from dispensing with the penalties, the bill ordered a separate account of them to be kept in Exchequer. † Ibid. May 10.

‡ Ibid. April 26. Lords journ. May 3. and 8. Burnet. || Journ. h. of com. April 29. ** Lords Journ. April 5.

would give them for overturning his government. The conspiracy came originally from Scotland. Sir James Montgomery, who had been one of the three sent to London by the Scottish convention, with the offer of the crown of Scotland to the Prince of Orange, now formed the project of dethroning him. He first opened himself to his brother in law Lord Annandale, and next to Lord Ross; two men who had been highly serviceable to the revolution, and one of whom had carried the convention's offer of the administration to the Prince of Orange. But Annandale had been intirely neglected in the distribution of honours and favours, and Ross not sufficiently rewarded. They readily entered into his views. All three went to London together, under pretence of complaining to William of the Lords Melville and Stair; but, in reality, to offer their services to the late King, through the Duke of Hamilton's son Lord Arran, who was then in the tower. Lord Arran connected them with some of the suspended bishops, and with the other partisans of the late King*, of which party Lord Clarendon, the Queen's uncle, was the head. There happened at that time to be a great number of the Scotch nobility in London, some to ask from William the rewards of past, and others to be courted for future services, and some to complain of his ministers, and of the injuries they thought, or pretended to think, had been done to their country. But their applications not having met with the attention they expected, their four countrymen took advantage of the displeasure which this neglect occasioned, and drew into their cabals† the Duke of Queensberry, the Marquis of Athole, and afterwards his son Lord Murray, Lord Tarbet, Lord Breadalbane, Mr. Ogilby, afterwards Earl of Seafield, and even the Earl of Argyle, who had carried the offer of the crown to the Prince of Orange from the Peers, but who, by a strange fatality, had been overlooked by government ever since. To these all the late King's partisans in Scotland joined themselves. Sir James Montgomery, who was

* Clarendon's diary. The English conspirators met by night, under the piazzas in Covent-Garden. This is what Clarendon means, when he repeats so often in his diary, that he had been to see his friends in the square. † Lord Balcarras, Burnet, 2. p. 62. Manuscript correspondence between Lord Stair and Lord Breadalbane. General M'Kay's manuscript correspondence with King William and Lord Portland.

much respected by the whigs in England *, attempted by painting the wrongs done to his country, as the forerunners of those which would befall theirs, to communicate his own sentiments of revenge to numbers of them; but, because they either had not as yet taken their measures, or did not trust him, they were fired by his representations, but avoided to connect themselves with him. Fergusson, who was a republican, without knowing that he was so, and who therefore hated every King, and Payne, an Englishman, were the under agents, to manage the correspondence between England and Scotland. Ashton, an Englishman, passed between England and France to the exiled Queen, who sent by him large sums of money to her friends in England and Scotland.

To the success of this conspiracy, Scotland, France, England, and Ireland were all to contribute. The Scottish army was † ten thousand strong. But, in order to get that army disbanded, as well as to inflame the people of Scotland, it was agreed, that the non-jurors, who had deserted their attendance in the Scotch parliament, should, by taking the oaths, regain their seats, join the measures of the club-party, and carry them into still further attempts against the King's ministers, and against prerogative, in order to force the King to dismiss the parliament, without getting a parliamentary provision for the support of the troops. It was known, that one part of the English fleet was in the spring to conduct the new Spanish Queen from Germany to Spain, another to convoy the trade to the Mediterranean, a third to attend the King in Ireland; that the rest of the fleet would be lying in ports, because unable to make efforts by itself; and that the Dutch, who were obliged to send a fleet to England only for the summer-service, never left their harbours early in the season: It was therefore resolved, that in June the French fleet should hover in the channel, to prevent the junction of these different fleets, to spread alarms on the English and Irish coasts, and to prevent the King and army from returning from Ireland. As soon as the French fleet appeared on the coasts, insurrections were to be made in every part of Scotland by the conspirators upon their own estates, all to be commanded by

* Burnet, 2. p. 36.

† Lord Balcarras.

the Earl of Arran: And similar disturbances were, at the same time, to be raised in Lancashire, Worcesterhire, Westmoreland, and the city. In the midst of all these distractions, James was to be transported from Ireland into France, and from France, with an army of French and Irish, into England. And, to spread the distraction wider, it was resolved, that, when James landed in England, a body of Irish should be transported from Ireland into the nearest part of Scotland. As the great body of the English army was at this time in Ireland, the flower of the rest of it in Flanders, and not above 7000 troops left in England, it was thought that the success of the scheme was infallible.

PART II.
BOOK V.

1690.

PREPARATIONS for these things were accordingly made. In order to procure the Earl of Arran's liberty, the Scotch peers, some of whom had not yet taken the oaths, assured the King, that Lord Arran and they were to take them together. Arran was instantly dismissed from the tower. The peers returned to Scotland, went to parliament, swore allegiance*, and joined themselves to the club-party. In the commission of political crimes, men reconcile their conduct to their consciences, either by the affectation of principle, or by scoffing at it. Some of those persons said, that it was no shame to do a wrong thing in a right cause; and others, that they would play at the game of blind-man's buff in parliament, by which means William should not find out his friends from his foes. A great number of English officers were sent from France to conduct the insurrections in the English counties. The great in Scotland marked out secretly their dependents whom they intended to bring into the field with them. The French hastened to get ready a great fleet of capital ships, of which Tourville, one of the most gallant of their sea-officers, was to be admiral. And the late King, to animate the Scotch, sent over one Strachan to Scotland†, with a number of letters to his partizans in that country; and, at the same time, kept himself ready in Ireland, to take advantage of events every where.

Preparations
for it.

* Lord Balcarras. General M'Kay's manuscript. † Record of Scottish privy-council, Feb. 20. April 20. 1690.

PART II.
BOOK V.

1690.
The King
fails for Ire-
land.

IGNORANT of the extent of this conspiracy, and only suspecting a few of the conspirators *, the King sailed from High Lake, with 300 transports, and six ships of war to guard them, and arrived at Carrickfergus on the 14th of June †. A vast number of other vessels of burden joined him from different ports of England with stores, provisions, artillery, and every thing necessary for a great expedition. The forces which sailed with him, or joined him in Ireland, amounted to 36,000 men. But, distrusting English soldiers to fight against one who had been lately King of England, he took care that more than one half of his army should consist of foreigners: For he had 10,000 Danes, 7000 Dutch and Brandenburgers, and 2000 French protestant refugees; and the superiority in general officers, three fourths of whom were foreigners, or had been Dutch officers, was still greater. He carried with him the Prince of Denmark, more from the fear of leaving him behind, and to lessen the odium, of going to fight against his wife's father, by dividing that odium, than to do honour to the Prince ‡, whom he would not permit to go in the coach with him. From a similar precaution, he carried with him a number of English nobility and men of fashion, as volunteers, or rather as hostages. But Clarendon's son, Lord Cornbury, who was in the Prince of Denmark's service, refused to attend his master ||; under pretence, that he could not with honour serve in a country, where he must have run to see that regiment which the King had taken from him, commanded by another; but in reality to expose the King for not shewing that delicacy to James, which he, who was more distantly allied to him, seemed to feel. But, though the Duke of Ormond had the same excuse of honour to plead from the station of his former regiment, he attended the King, perhaps to conceal the defection which he already meditated.

State of the
King and of
James there.

As it was publickly known, that William was to go to Ireland, the French had made preparations for his reception, by sending thither a great quantity of warlike stores, some money, and 5000 of the best troops of France, under the command of the famous but

* Clarendon's Diary, May 30. † Gazette, May 22. ‡ Dutches of Marlborough.
|| Clarendon's Diary, May 30.

unfortunate Lausun; and orders were given for more to follow them. The transports carried back an equal number of Irish troops to France: A device which strengthened James, without weakening France, and similar to that of Hannibal, who employed the Carthaginian troops in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa, because vanity and competition augment the valour of soldiers when the eyes of foreigners are upon them. The rest of James's army * consisted of 45,000 men. But the English and Irish armies were differently distributed: William being eager to determine the war at a blow, kept all his troops together; but the late King, wishing to protract it, in order to give time for insurrections in England and Scotland, and invasion from France, kept only 27,000 men around his person, and sent the rest into garrisons in the strongest parts of the kingdom. The spring had been spent in inconsiderable attempts upon both sides, because both Princes were preparing for the great events of the summer. But the eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon Ireland, in which two warlike Kings were to contend, as upon a public theatre, for empire, and where the singular spectacle was to be exhibited, of a nephew fighting against his uncle, and of two sons against their father-in-law. Both Kings were the more respectable too, because, although their animosities were mortal, they maintained the laws of honour to each other. In the beginning of the war, the King gave orders to the Captains of the navy, if they took James at sea, to preserve his person unhurt, and to carry him to Holland†. In the course of the war, a Captain of a ship of war offered to invite James on board his ship, and then to sail off with him‡; but William received the proposal with indignation. On the other hand, those who were around the exiled King made use of every art to provoke him against his family: Mrs Dawson, of his Queen's bed chamber, assured him, that she was present when the Princess Anne felt the child leap in the Queen's belly; and others, that, when William complained to his consort of the difficulties he was to encounter in Ireland, she answered, "You might have been free of those difficulties, had

* Story.

† My ingenious and learned friend Doctor Douglas, prebend of Windsor, gave me a copy of the order, authenticated by Doctor Clark, a lord of the Admiralty, who found it among Lord Torrington's papers.

‡ Burnet.

“ you taken my advice, when the King was in your hands.” An anecdote, though not strictly suited to the dignity of history, may perhaps be pardoned, which marks the state of the exiled court. James was one day complaining to his courtiers of his eldest daughter, but speaking with tenderness of the Princess Anne: Captain Loyd of the navy, who liked not the last part of the conversation, quitted the room; but, turning back his head as he shut the door, muttered aloud, “ Both bitches, by God * !” Some around James prompted him to consent to the assassination of the King; but, equalling the King’s generosity, he continually rejected the proposal with horror †.

Causes of
the discovery
of the con-
spiracy in
Britain.

BUT, while the English were intent upon the fate of the Irish war, they were alarmed with the discovery of the conspiracy at home. As the danger had come originally from Scotland, so the discovery of it came likewise from thence. At the same time that Sir James Montgomery, Lord Ross, and Lord Annandale, joined in the general correspondence of the Jacobite-party with the exiled Queen, and with France, they carried on a private correspondence with James in Ireland for their own advantage, sending over, for that purpose, a trusty messenger, named Jones. By this means, they prevailed upon James, who had not exact intelligence in Ireland of the terms adjusted with his party by his consort, to send over commissions which heaped all honours in Scotland upon themselves and their friends: The Earldom of Air was conferred upon Montgomery, another Earldom on Ross, a Marquisate on Annandale. These three persons were impowered to summon a parliament in James’s name, in which the last of them was to represent his person as commissioner. But, in their care for themselves, they neglected their other associates, and instead of asking a commis-

* James was expressing joy at St. Germain, upon the news that the King of Siam had been converted to Christianity, “ I am sorry for it,” said Loyd, “ for then his subjects will depose him.” I found these two anecdotes in memoirs of a noble family, who do not chuse to have the connections of an ancestor with the family of Stewart, even though near a century ago, mentioned.

† Vid. the trials and last speeches of all those who were tried for the assassinating plot.

sion for the Earl of Arran as general, they contented themselves with getting a simple pardon for his father. Upon this the partizans of James, enraged * with his imprudence and ingratitude, and the treachery of their three friends, broke off their connections equally with him and with them. At this time the Duke of Hamilton was no longer commissioner to the parliament. Lord Melville, who now filled his place, and Lord Stair, alarmed with the junction of the country and Jacobite-parties, hastened to get every bill passed which the Duke of Hamilton had disappointed, or that could please the people, though at the expence of the crown; and among other measures †, to split the two parties, one of which was presbyterian, and the other episcopal, Lord Melville touched with the scepter, the act which established presbytery in Scotland. Sir John Dalrymple pointed out to the revolution country-party, upon the one hand, the generosity of the King in giving up his prerogative, and, upon the other, the precipice to which their new allies had attempted to draw them. That party, pleased with the escape which they had made, joined with the court-interest in advancing supplies, in keeping up the army, and in imposing an oath upon the subjects, which, while it abjured the late King, renounced also the distinction so fatal to England, betwixt a King *de facto*, and a King *de jure*, and broke off all their connections with Montgomery, Ross, and Annandale. Deserted thus by both parties, afraid to be betrayed, and, perhaps, feeling those compunctions which are apt to arise upon disappointment, in the breasts of people who have quitted their principles for ambition, these three men hastened to London to discover what they knew.

* Lord Balcarras.

† The King's supremacy was abolished; the old ejected presbyterian ministers were restored; the Lords of articles were given up; presbytery was established and indulged in all the wildness of freedom by the destruction of patronage; the number of the representatives of the commons in parliament was increased, to boroughs; their antient rights were restored; all forfeitures and fines which had been imposed since the year 1665, were indiscriminately reversed; and the effects of forfeiture were limited for the future. Vide Scotch statutes and their dates in the London Gazette.

PART II.
BOOK V.1690.
The conspiracy discovered.

LORD ROSE presented himself first, laying open to the Queen, all the plan of the conspiracy, yet refusing to name the conspirators: She referred him to the Lords Nottingham and Caermarthen. But shocked with the indignity to himself and his family, of becoming an informer to his equals and to strangers, he refused to confirm to her ministers what he had related to herself, and was sent to the tower. Sir James Montgomery, more prudent, before he would appear, made terms, that he should not meet with the same fate. In order to give importance to himself, he exaggerated that of the conspiracy to the Queen and her ministers. He named all his Scotch, but refused to name any of his English accomplices; because his countrymen, he said, had deserted him; the others had not. Lord Annandale hid himself, distrusting his own courage, and did not surrender until long after. Ferguson was seized in England*, but eluded the arts of those who examined him, by greater arts. Payne was put twice to the torture in Scotland†; but withstood all its furies, proud to show he possessed that constancy of which his superiors, who had employed him, were void. Crone and Tempest, two inferior agents‡, were taken in England with some letters. The former was condemned to die, but was often reprieved; the latter first sunk into despondency, and then died raving mad in prison. But the struggles of Crone to save his life, by describing a conspiracy, the particulars of which he did not know, and the horrors of Tempest, which were imputed to the importance of the secrets he had to disclose, added doubt and un-

* Clarendon's Diary, June 20, 21.

† This is the last instance of the use of the torture in Scotland. An account of it is to be found in the record of the Scottish privy-council, 10th December 1690. There was a special warrant for it, signed by the King and Lord Melville. When Payne was threatened by the privy-council, he answered, "They might do with his body what they pleased." The record bears, that there was a motion made from the bar for a second torture next day, if he did not confess upon the first. The council differed; but upon a vote it was resolved to comply with the motion. He was tortured in presence of the council; and the record bears, "he answered *negative*." There are many instances of the torture in the books of the privy-council in the reign of Charles the Second. Most of the old laws and customs of Scotland were formed upon those of the Romans and the French; and both of these nations made use of the torture. The instruments of it were borrowed from France.

‡ Clarendon's Diary, June 8, 9, 25.

certainty to fear in those who examined them. And hence the greatness of the conspiracy was magnified, in proportion to its obscurity, in the imaginations of the Queen, her ministers, and the nation.

PART II.
BOOK V.
1690.

BEFORE William sailed, he had issued a proclamation to seize many persons in Lancashire, who had got commissions from the late King to levy men in that county. And now the Queen, in order to raise a spirit of loyalty in the nation by its fears and its dangers, sent to the tower the Lords Clarendon, Yarmouth, Newburgh, Griffin, Castlemain and Alesbury, Sir John Fenwick, Colonel Hastings, and many other men of fashion*. A proclamation was soon after issued to seize the Lords Litchfield, Montgomery, Preston, and Bellasis, Sir Edward Hales, Captain Lloyd, Mr. Pen, and many others. Every hour the prison-doors were opened to receive the partizans of the late King, and the people astonished, saw no end of the government's enemies and their own. Lord Hume, Lord Oxenford, with a few others of the Scotch nobility † in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, were seized. The rest were overlooked, partly, because it was difficult to seize them all at once, and dangerous to do it separately, and partly, because, as their party was split, no immediate fear was entertained of them. Argyle retired to his estate in the highlands, ashamed of his rashness; but immediately after made ample amends ‡ by subduing the western islands of Scotland to the government. Lord Tarbet and Lord Breadalbane vowed the future service of their lives to William, in return for his mercy. Breadalbane kept his faith: But, as Tarbet § was dismissed from his offices, he thought himself at liberty to break it.

Conspirators
seized.

June 24.

THE Queen's view, to secure the affections of the nation, by alarming their fears, succeeded. For, irritated by the pain which

Loyalty of
the nation.

* Gazettes. Clarendon's Diary. Books of privy-council, June 24, 1690. July 18. † Records of Scottish privy-council, Anno 1690. ‡ There are accounts of his expedition, and the success of it, in the records of the Scottish privy-council, Anno 1690. § Ibid. 19th August. Balcarras.

even the uncertainty of the conspiracy gave, and enraged to hear that the French and the Scotch were at the bottom of it, almost all distinctions of party subsided in an instant in England; and, as if the nation had been only one man, all seemed to unite for the support of government. Ten thousand Cornish tinnerns offered in an address to venture their lives in defence of the throne: The officers of the navy had, a little before, in another, abjured the late King: The common council * asked leave to raise the militia, consisting of 9000 men; and the lieutenancy to raise 6000 more: The citizens made a contribution to maintain two regiments of cavalry: And, whatever might be the divisions among the higher ranks of the nation, the great body of the people gave, every where, unquestionable signs of their loyalty.

Tourville,
with the
fleet, arrives
on the coast.

BUT now the truth of the conspiracy was confirmed, and its terror augmented by the arrival of the French fleet upon the coast of England, at the time and place which had been concerted. Eight days after William sailed for Ireland, Mons. Tourville, with 78 great ships of war, posted himself off Plymouth. The armament was made more formidable, by an addition which had been made to the original project, by the Marquis de Seignelai, son to the famous Colbert. Colbert's family was originally of Scottish extraction; and, as Seignelai was young and vain, the Scotch who surrounded him filled his mind with the glory of making King James owe his restoration to one of the descendants of their countrymen. Seignelai, therefore, sent 22 fire-ships, and a great number of frigates with the fleet; formed a resolution to go on board one of the frigates himself, and, after Tourville had defeated the enemy, to sail along the coast of England with the small ships, enter the harbours as he passed along, and burn the ships wherever he came. Lord Torrington was then at St. Helens, with no more than 40 ships of war: For only part of the fleet which had sailed to Spain and the Mediterranean was returned, and that part was blocked up at Plymouth; the ships which attended the King were still in Ireland; and only a few of the Dutch squadron had as yet joined the English: So that the position of the French cut off Torrington from all hopes of making a junction sufficient to fight

* Life of K. W. 3. p. 195.

them with success. He called a council of war, in which it was agreed to avoid fighting, and sent the result of it to the Queen. In the mean time the French advanced through the channel, and Torrington followed them close as they sailed eastward, sometimes in sight of them, and sometimes not, but keeping always between them and the coasts, in order to protect them, and in case a battle should be forced upon him, to make the enemy's superiority in number of less use in a narrow sea.

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1690.

THE Queen referred the opinion of the council of war to Admiral Russel, the only person in the cabinet-council who was acquainted with sea affairs. By this time news had arrived, that sixteen more ships from Holland and the coasts of England had joined the English fleet. Russel took advantage of the accident: and, either from the contempt of French naval force natural to an English officer, or in order to remove the only rival who lay in his way to the supreme command of the navy, gave his opinion, that Torrington's force was sufficient for venturing a battle. Nor were plausible topics wanting to support his opinion: "The superiority of
"English and Dutch ships and seamen over French; the consciousness of that superiority in the seamen, which always makes men
"outdo themselves; the disgrace to the new government, if it
"should yield the empire of the sea in its own channel. The
"French had quitted their station at Plymouth; they had passed
"the Isle of Wight; they were advancing rapidly through the
"channel; they would soon be in the river, and shake the metropolis itself with their armament. A victory would save the nation from insurrection and invasion united. It would save the
"ports of England, and the transports attending the King, the last
"of which were now cut off from all aid, except that which was
"to be found in the victory of the fleet, from the fire ships and frigates of the French; an armament more mischievous in its consequences, than even the grand fleet which covered it. Defeat
"would not be attended with its usual fatal consequences; because
"the seamen could easily run the ships into harbours upon their
"own coasts, and still defend their country after their honour was

Receives orders to fight;

PART II.
BOOK V.
1690.

and is de-
feated at
Beachy-
head.

"lost." Harrassed with suspense and alarms, and finding relief from passion, in resolutions of despair, the Queen sent positive orders to Torrington to engage.

THE order reached him near Beachy-head. He had been then some days in sight of the French fleet, but which, conscious of the prudence of the stations he took, had proceeded with caution, and had not ventured to attack him. But, upon receiving the Queen's orders, he quitted the coast, and advanced into the open sea against the enemy, who formed in regular order to receive him. His fleet consisted of 22 Dutch ships and 34 English. The Dutch Admiral Evertsen, the same man who had sailed to England with the Prince of Orange, commanded the van, which was composed of the Dutch squadron; and Torrington, the main body. But there was this difference between the admirals, that the one fought for glory: For Evertsen was proud to save England a second time, and to wipe off the complaints which the English had made against his countrymen, for having failed to come up in time, the year before, to the battle of Bantray-bay: But the other, trusting to the greatness of his character for his glory, reflected, that the safety of his country was intrusted to him. Hence, whilst Torrington came on with slowness and regularity, Evertsen hastened forwards, out-sailed him, passed part of the enemy's van without firing a shot, and plunged into the middle of the remaining part of it. By this means he left a great opening between his squadron and Torrington's, who did not come up till an hour after. The French instantly filled this opening with a great number of their ships, thus cutting off the van from the main body: And then part of them making head against Torrington, the rest closed in upon Evertsen's squadron on one side, while that part of the van which he had rashly passed, turned and surrounded it on the other. In this situation, the French spent all their fury against the Dutch squadron, and lay only on the defensive against the English. Torrington, conscious of the superiority of his enemies, and of the misfortunes of his allies, now made all his honour consist in bringing those off with whom he could not conquer; and, after many efforts, got, in about five hours, between the Dutch and the main body of the enemy. But perceiving soon, that the ships

drove with the tide, he dropped his anchors, in hopes to separate the fleets, in case the enemy should neglect to imitate his example. His view succeeded; the French observed not what he had done, and the combatants were imperceptibly waisted away from each other. In the engagement, three of the Dutch fleet were burnt, two of their admirals killed, and almost all the rest of their ships totally disabled*. Next day, the English and Dutch declined a second battle; and retired to the Thames, to defend the metropolis, and because in the mouth of the river, they could better defend themselves against a force superior to their own. In the flight, the Dutch were obliged to burn three more of their disabled ships upon the coast, and the English one of theirs. Seignelai had been prevented from going on board the fleet by an illness which seized him, just when it was going to sail; and, in order to have all the honour of the execution to himself, he had not communicated to Tourville the detail of his scheme for attacking the English ports with the fire-ships and frigates: Torrington, upon his retreat, had given orders to take up the buoys all along the coasts. From these two circumstances, Tourville made no advantage of his small ships against the English ports: But he pursued with his great ones to Ryebay, and there he stopped, either because he durst not venture an engagement in a narrow sea, and with an enemy driven to despair, or to see what effect the victory should produce among James's friends in England. But, as bad news are always made worse, it was reported, that he was still advancing.

WHILST the two fleets had been viewing, or losing sight of each other, had been approaching, tacking, or fighting, news had been carried † almost every hour to London, of almost every motion that they made. These in a vast city, had been variously reported, according to the memories, the imaginations, the fears, and the hopes of the different men who related them: And hence suspense gave agitation to the spirits. But, when it was made certain, that the united fleets were flying for refuge to the Thames, were burning their own ships on their own coasts as they went along, to save them from the enemy; and that the French were triumphantly

Emotions in
England up-
on the news
of the defeat.

* Evertsen's letter to the States.

† Gazettes.

pursuing through the channel, a sudden despondency seized all, made deeper by the news which had arrived from Holland, four days before, that the French had beat the Dutch in a great battle at Flers. For it was believed, that, elated with this double victory, and secure from danger from the continent, France would pour like a torrent upon England with all her forces by sea and by land; and that Holland and England would fall victims to the fatal friendship of Lewis and James. Even the retreat of the French fleet, some days after, from Dungeness, continued the general dejection, by the uncertainty of sentiment it created. For, as it was seen in different views from the coasts, according to its own positions, and those of the country, as it sailed along, men knew not whether it was intended to favour different insurrections in the kingdom, or to waft an army from France, or to destroy the King's fleet and transports in Ireland, or to land the late King in England. And, whatever any person's invention could suggest as a prudent mean to hurt the nation, his credulity and his fears made him believe. The motions of the militia, which was raised along the coasts, † and of the few regiments in the kingdom, most of which were ordered to take the same routs with the militia, only drew the attention of the people to the feebleness of the sole defence that was left them. Government was seized with the terrors of the people; for, in every one who was not a flatterer, the rebel was dreaded. The Queen's order ‡ to stop the ordinary circuits through the country, threw a gloom upon the minds of all, when they reflected that she, who was to be defended by the union of her subjects, placed her safety in their silence and solitude. And, at a time when the army was in other countries, separated from their own, by seas of which their enemies were masters; the bulwark of the nation, the navy, put to flight or blocked up in its own harbours; the King absent; the reins of government in the hand of a woman, whose councils were distracted by two implacable factions; invasion impending; rebellion in one of the three kingdoms, and expected in the other two; and an exiled master returning with power and with vengeance; the British empire shook to its centre.

† Books of privy council, passim.

‡ Books of privy council, 18. July.

AT the very time when these things were passing in England, spectacles equally striking were exhibited in Ireland. The King having received news, that the French fleet was sailed for the coast of England, resolved, by measures of speed and of vigour, to prevent the impression which that circumstance might make upon the minds of his soldiers; and therefore hastened to advance against James, who, he heard, had quitted Dublin, and was now at Ardee with part of his army, while the rest lay at Dundalk. All the arts of a general, and a man of sense, he put in practice, to draw the attention of his soldiers from the misfortunes of last year in Ireland, and the danger of the present. The same day upon which all his troops, from different quarters, joined at Loch-Britland, which they did upon the 22d of June, he joined them; and ordering the army to pass him, threw a march into a review*: Instead of keeping one station, he rode amongst the regiments as soon as they appeared, to encourage the soldiers, and to satisfy himself of the state of every regiment. An order having been brought him to sign for wine for his table, he said aloud, "No, he would drink water with his soldiers." He slept every night in the camp, was all the day on horseback, flew from place to place to survey the army or the country, and trusted nothing to others. While at one time he brought up the rear, with an anxiety which engaged the affections of the soldiers; at another, with a spirit which inflamed them, he was the foremost in advanced parties, if danger seemed to threaten, or the object to be known was of importance. When he approached Dundalk, he took care to avoid the place where the army had last year been incamped, lest the sight of the scene of past calamities might create presages of future ones: and to prevent impressions which might arise in the minds of the soldiers, from the fear of delay, he said, in their hearing, when some delay was proposed, "That he came not to Ireland, to permit the grass to grow under his feet." He made his fleet sail slowly along the coast, spread out in sight of his army as it marched, to elevate their spirits by the grandeur of the spectacle, and to confirm them by the idea of security which it conveyed†.

PART II.
BOOK IV.

1690.
The King's
arts to keep
up the spirits
of his army
in Ireland.

* Story.

† Ibid.

1690.

James posts
himself be-
hind the
Boyne.
Description
of his station.

THE Irish army, intent to gain time, and to draw William from the sea, attacked him not, whilst he was engaged in the same difficult march which last year had given so much trouble to Schomberg; nor defended the strong pass of Newry; but, as William advanced, they fell back, first from Dundalk, and then from Ardee, although both places had been fortified during the winter. At last, upon the 29th of June, the late King fixed his camp in a strong station, on the other side of the Boyne: For, on his right, a little down the river, on the opposite side from him, lay Drogheda, possessed by his garrison; and on his left, upon the same side of the river with him, a bog difficult to pass. In his front, were the fords of the river, deep and dangerous, the banks of which were rugged, and bounded by old houses; the houses by rows of hedges in the fields: the hedges by a range of small hills; and the whole by the village of Dunore, which stood upon a height, and commanded the view of all below. In these different fastnesses his army was placed. Three miles higher up the river, stood the bridge of Slains; but the bog on the left of the camp lay between the camp and the bridge, and the communication from the one to the other was by a narrow tract of ground at the back of the bog. The station was equally secure for retreat; because, three miles behind Dunore, lay the village and pass of Dunleek, which ten men a-breast could not pass.

Different o-
pinions at
James's coun-
cils of war.

HERE James held councils of war. The more cautious part of the Irish advised him still to avoid a battle, and to retire behind the Shannon. "In retreat," they argued, "there was no disgrace, when through security it led to victory. The chances of war were almost never so equal, that it could be alike advantageous for two generals to fight at one time. The same reasons, therefore, which impelled the Prince of Orange to a battle, pointed out that the King should avoid it. The enemy's army was at present strong in numbers, his own weak; yet those numbers, unaccustomed to the climate of Ireland, would soon moulder away as they had done last year; but his soldiers, habituated to the air of their own country, were exposed to no diminution from disease. The French were masters of the sea, his adherents in Ireland, of the land. Hence more forces were on their way to join him from

"abroad, and might be raised at home if he pleased ; but his ene-
 "my could get an increase of numbers from neither. In retiring
 "into the interior part of the kingdom, he could draw provisions
 "where-ever he went, from the garrisons around and behind him.
 "But the Prince, by advancing into it, must lose the supplies from
 "his fleet, and find no other in an enemy's country. To the King,
 "the place of defeat was immaterial, at the Shannon, or the Boyne ;
 "but the defeat which the Prince might repair where he was sur-
 "rounded with friends, in no want of provisions, and secure of a
 "retreat to his ships, would be inevitable ruin, if he was cut off
 "from all three. Even, without risking a battle at all, the war
 "might be ended ; because, if the French fleet should destroy the
 "ships which attended the Prince, and block up the channel be-
 "tween England and Ireland, his army could not fail to fall with-
 "out a stroke." But the French, who, by this time, were tired of
 the war, longed to be at home, and had either forgot the orders of
 their master to prolong it, or bethought themselves of apologies
 for not obeying them, and all those of warmer tempers in the ar-
 my exclaimed, "That, to leave his metropolis to the mercy of the
 "conqueror, was to surrender his kingdom. The subjects would
 "abandon the King who abandoned himself. The strength of his
 "station ensured him of victory. The enemy's numbers could a-
 "vail them nothing in places where there could be no ge-
 "neral engagement, and where those who knew the ground
 "had all the advantage. It became his state, his ancient reputa-
 "tion in war, and his spirit, to throw his fate upon the first great
 "cast which was presented. The English soldiers would tremble
 "at the sight of their Sovereign standing in battle against them,
 "but would pursue him with scorn if he fled. Heaven and earth
 "would fight in his cause ; and the usurper's own conscience, by
 "terrifying and distracting him, would bereave him of the wonted
 "powers of his mind."

JAMES had privately resolved to transport himself from Ireland to
 France, in order to take advantage of the mischiefs which had been
 concerted there and in England, although he concealed his reso-
 lution, that he might not make that concert public. But, ashamed

James's
 fluctuation.

to fly just upon the approach of the enemy's army, wearied with a state of uncertainty, irritated by his want of power in his own kingdom, and provoked even by the tone of impatience and independence, in which those different advices had been given, his pride at first made him resolve to maintain his post, and wait for the enemy. And, accordingly, he made preparations for it. Afterwards the news of the advance of the French fleet through the channel, opening new hopes, and reviving former projects, he leaned to the side of retiring with his army. For this purpose he sent off * most of his artillery and baggage, and wrote private orders † to Sir Patrick Irant, commissioner of the Irish revenue, to get a vessel ready at Waterford to transport him to France. But the sudden arrival of his opponent, upon the opposite banks of the river, reduced him to the difficult situation of maintaining the passage of the river, and of taking measures for retreat at the same time. The English army placed itself in a station which gave a full view of both armies to each other, and so near, that a cannonade immediately commenced.

The King is wounded.

WILLIAM had no sooner arrived, than he rode along the side of the river in the sight of both armies, to make his observations upon the field, which was next day to determine James's fate and his own. The enemy having observed him sit down upon the ground, whilst he was writing notes of what he had observed, sent, into a field opposite to him, a body of horse, who carried two field-pieces concealed in their centre, and had orders to drop the cannon unperceived, behind a hedge, as they marched along. These guns were deliberately aimed at his horses; and, when he mounted, were discharged. The balls killed several of his followers, and one of them wounded himself on the shoulder. A shout from the Irish camp rent the skies. A report, that he was killed, instantly flew through Ireland, and in an incredibly short space of time reached Paris. The guns of the Bastile were fired, the city was illuminated, and all men congratulated each other, as upon the greatest of victories. Triumphs for his death, flattering to the King; because they expressed the fears which his life gave to his enemies. As soon as his wound was

* Story, p. 77. 78.

Gazette, July, 10.

dressed, he rode through his whole camp, to undeceive his friends and his foes.

THE King called not a council of war until nine o'clock at night; and then, without asking advice of his officers, he declared his resolution to force the passage of the river next morning. For, rendered impatient by the news from England, and receiving intelligence that James was continuing to send off his artillery, and baggage, and some of his troops, with a view to a retreat, he would listen to no council. Distrusting his English officers, yet, sensible it was impossible to make a distinction between them and the others, he concerted not the plan of the attack with the council, but intimated that he would send to every one his orders before bed-time; a reserve which he observed even to the great Duke of Schomberg, who, ignorant of the cause of it, said, with some peevishness, when he received the order of battle *, "That it was the first which had ever been sent him."

1690.
Resolves to fight, without asking advice of a council of war.

THE King directed the river to be passed in three places. Count Schomberg, son to the Marshal, was, at six o'clock in the morning, to go up the river, with the right wing of 10,000 men, consisting mostly of cavalry; to pass it at some fords which the King himself had discovered below Slainbride; and, after dispersing the troops which should oppose him there, to make his way to the pass of Dunleek, with a view to attack the enemy behind, and cut off their retreat at the same time. Some hours after this body was on its way, and whenever its success should be known, the centre under the Duke of Schomberg, in which the great body of infantry was placed, was to pass at the fords, between the two camps; because, upon ground broken and unknown, only infantry could act. In the disposition of this part of his army, William ordered the Dutch, the Brandenburgers, the French Protestants, and the Inniskillingers to pass the river first; partly, because he knew the attachment of the two former to himself, and of the two latter to their religion; and partly, because he was not yet sufficiently acquainted with the Danes, and would not venture English forces to

The King's plan of the attack consists of three parts.

* Story. Life of K. W.

fight against one who had formerly commanded them. William was himself to go down the river with the left wing, which was composed of the rest of the cavalry, pass at a ford between the army and Drogheda, and flank the enemy whilst they were engaged. After all these things were disposed for the action of next day, William still anxious, and afraid that something had been omitted, went himself through the camp by torch-light: A piece of duty, which, by showing the vigilance and ardour of the General, communicated the same dispositions to the soldiers *.

James's dispositions.

NEXT morning the late King, seeing the enemy drawn out, and the impossibility of a retreat without a battle, prepared himself to receive them. He had thrown up some breast-works upon the banks of the fords which lay between the two camps; and he now gave orders, if his troops were driven from these, to retire to the line of houses; if from the houses, to the hedges; if from the hedges, to the range of small hills; if from these, to Dunmore; and, if they could not make that station good, they were to retire to Dunleek, and stop the pursuit by defending the pass. Even in the last order which he gave, James experienced the disobedience of his Irish subjects: For, having commanded the 5000 French, because they were veterans, and accustomed to works of defence, to place themselves in the breast-works and line of houses, the Irish cried out: "They were affronted; the post of honour was theirs; and they would fire upon whomsoever should attempt to take it from them." And he was obliged to place the only force he could depend upon behind the Irish, among the range of small hills; the only place in which they could not effectually serve him. After these dispositions were made, James took his own station upon a height, at the church of Dunmore, from whence he could view the operations of both armies; but with a presaging mind, when he reflected, that all the precautions he had taken were contrived to make retreat less dangerous, not to improve upon victory.

State of the first part of the King's attack.

WHEN James perceived Count Schomberg march off towards Slains, and great bodies of troops in motion after him, he imagined,

* Story.

the whole army was taking the same rout, and that the English, conscious of the difficulties of the fords between the camps, were not to attempt them. Fearing to be attacked on the flank, but more to be cut off from Dunleek, he therefore sent great bodies of troops successively to watch Count Schomberg, and, by this movement, weakened his principal army. The Count having out-marched the French, who, on the other side of the river followed his motions, found little opposition in his passage, easily dispersing the few troops which arrived soonest to oppose him. The bog first stopped him; but, upon examination, finding it, though difficult, not impossible to be passed, he sent his cavalry round by the narrow tract of firm ground at the back of it, and floundered through the bog with his infantry. The boldness of the action discouraged the enemies on the other side, who scarcely waited to be attacked, but made the best of their way to Dunleek. The Count pursued, but slowly; for he had no guides, except the flying steps of his enemies; and the bogs and ditches, which they who were acquainted with their intricacies passed with ease, proved obstacles to him every minute; so that, whilst he thought he was gaining ground, he often found that he lost it*.

WILLIAM had no sooner heard that Count Schomberg was got over, than he sent orders to the advanced body of the centre to cross the river. The blue Dutch guards entered first. The Brandenburgers instantly followed, impelled by national competition. The sudden resistance to the current swelled the river, so that the infantry passed it, some breast-high, holding their arms above their heads, and the rest to the middle, and many of the horses were obliged to swim. The Irish troops, who, according to the manner of men insolent to their friends, were cowardly against their enemies, fled first from the breast-works and houses, and then from the hedges, after making fires confused and ill pointed†, which killed not a man. As fast as the advanced bodies got footing, they formed. The English and Danes hastened to follow them through the river. But Marshal Schomberg, anxious, and still doubting of success, in an attempt which he thought desperate, kept his station, with a

Of the second.

* Story. Gazette.

† Story.

strong body of troops around him, to give his assistance wherever it should be first needed. General Hamilton, who commanded the Irish cavalry, enraged at the cowardice with which the infantry of his countrymen had behaved, ordered brandy to be distributed amongst his dragoons; and then, with a rage that was rather frantic than brave, poured down upon the enemies, who were now got clear of most of the hedges, and were advancing into the open ground. At the same time, new troops seemed to start from the earth; for the French, who had been hitherto undiscovered, rose now upon the fight, among the little hills, appearing more numerous than they were, by the aid which the interposition of objects gave to the imagination, and because, they rose to view only by degrees. This body advanced to support Hamilton's charge with an order proportioned to his want of it. The double shock threw William's centre into disorder. The Dutch stopped: The French protestants were broken through: The English advanced slowly: The Danes, without waiting to be attacked, turned round, and fled back through the river. Part of Hamilton's dragoons plunged into it after them. Callimotte, who commanded the French protestants, the faithful partner of Schomberg in all his fortunes, was rode down. Schomberg, hearing of his friend's distress, and perceiving that of the centre, hastened from his station to their relief. Callimotte and Schomberg passed each other in the river, unknown, and at a distance; the one mortally wounded, carried off in his soldiers arms, and calling to those who passed him, "A la gloir, mes enfans, a la gloir!" "To glory, my children, to glory!" The other on horseback, in the deepest of the river, rallying the French protestants, pointing out to them their countrymen in the Irish army, and crying out, "Voila, Messieurs, vos persecuteurs." "There, gentlemen, are your persecutors." In the mean time, that part of Hamilton's dragoons which had entered the river, finding their career stopped, returned to their own side of the river, and, in their way breaking through the French protestants a second time, wounded Schomberg, and hurried him along; and his own men firing upon them, without knowing he was amongst them, killed him. Hamilton's charge on the one side, and the relief which Schomberg had brought on the

other, gave time for both parties to rally, and prepare for a renewal of the engagement*.

PART II.
BOOK V.

1690.
Of the third.

BUT, whilst they were standing opposite to each other, William, who had passed the river below, appeared at the head of his cavalry, with his sword drawn, his arm thrown loose of its bandage, inflaming his men with his voice, and preparing to fall upon the enemy's flank. At this sight they retired to the strong station of Dunore. He followed with his cavalry: His infantry advanced: And, in the mean time, all the enemy's forces, except that part which was retiring to Dunleek, gathered from all quarters around their King. At this place the battle lasted half an hour, with various success, representing in the standards, the looks, the dresses, and the language of the combatants, the horrors of civil and foreign war mixed together. Because, while different nations were opposed to one another in some places, French subjects fought with French subjects, and British with British in others. In the heat of the action †, one of William's dragoons, mistaking him, clapped a pistol to his head. The King turning it aside, said calmly to the soldier, "What, do you not know your friends?" The Irish infantry at length gave way. Hamilton, with his cavalry, again attempted to recover the battle, and had almost succeeded, but was taken prisoner. James seeing this, and hearing that Count Schomberg was still making his way to Dunleek, quitted his station, while the armies were yet fighting; and leaving orders for the army to retire to defend the pass of Dunleek, and afterwards to fall back to the Shannon, he himself, with his principal officers ‡, fled. Upon hearing this, William asked General Hamilton, who was brought prisoner before him, if he thought the Irish army would fight any more? Hamilton answered, "Upon my honour, I believe they will." The King, with that short but strong manner of speaking which was natural to him, muttered, "Your honour! your honour!" alluding to Hamilton's former breach of it to him: And then, without losing time to put his troops in order, directed a pursuit from all quarters. The hurry of the flight, and of the pursuit, prevented the enemy from de-

* Story. Gazettes. Life of K. W. † Burnet, 2. 55. ‡ Story. Gazette.

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1690.

James's flight
to France.

ending the pass of Dunleek, and the victory became complete. Two thousand of the Irish were killed; the English lost not above a fourth part of that number.

THE late King went first to Dublin, and next to Waterford, breaking down all the bridges behind him, by the suggestions of the French officers, who, impatient to revisit their own country, hurried him from Ireland, and added wings to his fears. In his flight, he received a letter written with Lewis the XIV.'s own hand, in which that monarch informed him of the victory of Flerus, which had put it in his power to draw his garrisons from Flanders to the coast, and of the station his fleet had taken, which prevented his enemies from succouring each other. In this letter, Louis urged him to sail instantly for France, and to leave the conduct of the war to his generals, with orders to protract it; and promised to land him in England with 30,000 men: A letter which, while it filled James with hopes, covered him, at the same time, with mortifications, when he reflected upon the contrast between his own situation and that of his ally. In his passage, he met the French fleet of frigates, with which Seignelai had originally intended to burn the English shipping on the coast of England, and which was now destined to burn William's transports upon the coast of Ireland; but communicating to other nations the bad fortune which attended himself, he carried it back to France with him for the security of his person.

William enters
Dublin.

THE day after the battle, William summoned Drogheda to surrender: The Governor hesitated; but, in the importance of the crisis, the King thought himself justified in threatening to put the garrison to the sword, if it made any resistance. It instantly yielded. A few days after, he made his entry into Dublin, where, in compliment to the devotion of the Irish protestants, the first place he repaired to was the cathedral.

The Irish
army rallies
at the Shan-
non.

IN the mean time, the Irish army had fled directly to the Shannon. There they were joined by James's principal officers, who, after taking their farewell of him, returned, to continue the

war, and explain the cause of his retreat. For James, having un-
guardedly said, while he hastened through Dublin, that he would
never again trust his fate to an Irish army; his soldiers, upon hear-
ing it, exclaimed: "Complaints of cowardice came ill from the
"mouth of one who had been the first to fly from the battle, and
"the only person, not of foreign birth, who had fled from the king-
"dom; and that if the English would change Kings with them,
"they would fight the battle over again *."

PART II.
BOOK V.
1690.

WHEN the news of these successes arrived in England, William,
who had so lately been unpopular, became the idol of a nation
which loves to hear of fighting. The populace made amends for
all the clamour they had raised against the Dutch, extravagant in
the praises of their seamen, and unjust to their own. As in unfor-
tunate engagements all lay the blame upon one, to take it off them-
selves, the seamen complained of the conduct of Torrington. The
Queen and her ministers took advantage of these popular currents.
In order to save the honour of national courage, they imputed Tor-
rington's conduct to his treachery: And, in order to remove the in-
dignation of the Dutch from the English nation, by directing it to a
particular person, Lord Nottingham wrote a letter to the English
envoy at the Hague, which laid all the blame upon Torrington; and
care was taken to translate and publish it in the Dutch Gazettes. The
Queen also in a message of condolence, sent by a special envoy to the
States †, expressed her sorrow, "That they had not been seconded
"as they ought to have been;" and, to mark against whom this ex-
pression was levelled, she, at the same time, sent Torrington to
the tower. She also repaired the Dutch ships at her own charge.
Their wounded seamen ‡ were taken care of in hospitals, preferably
to the English: A generosity, of which the last complained not.
Rewards were given to the widows and children of those who had
died in battle, and conduct-money to the seamen whose ships had been
burnt, to carry accounts to their countrymen of the noble nature
of that nation, in whose cause they had suffered. Pleased with these
attentions, the States fitted out 18 new ships of war, laid an embar-

Consequen-
ces of victory
in England
and Holland.

* Story, 2. p. 100. Life of K. W.
and 11. July.

† Gazette.
L 112

‡ Books of privy council, 3.

PART II.
BOOK V.

1690.

Louis drops
the scheme of
an invasion,
July 8.and refuses to
land James in
England.

go upon their trade until they were manned; levied new troops at home; hired others from other nations; and sent a stronger army into the field, than that which had been defeated at Flerus. The English ordered 12 new ships to be built*, all the old ones to be repaired, and new seamen and soldiers to be levied. And all Europe was convinced of this truth, that nations, which join freedom to wealth, rise always stronger from defeat.

BEFORE the French King heard of James's defeat at the Boyne, he had, in order to execute his great project of ending the war at a blow, brought his fleet back to France, at the time he expected that Prince from Ireland, intending to use it in transporting him with an army into England. But when he saw James return defeated, and bringing back with him that squadron which was sent to destroy his enemies; and found, that, instead of insurrections in Britain, the conspirators were seized, and the nation united as one man against his friend, because supported by him; and that, instead of invading others, he might soon be obliged to defend himself from invasion by land and by sea; he laid aside his project.

UPON this occasion, James experienced one of those cruel reverses, which made him often think and say, He was born to be the sport of fortune. Louis waited upon him, as soon as he arrived at St. Germain. James, buoyed up with the hopes which that Prince's late letter had suggested, and with those flatteries which attend upon Kings even when they are exiles, imagined that so sudden a visit was made, in order to concert the manner of his embarkation for England; and was therefore the more severely disappointed, when he understood, that the intention of it was to make apologies for relinquishing the expedition altogether. The English monarch in vain reminded the French one, of the assurances which his letter had given him. In vain he offered to go on board the fleet either with an army or without one, saying, "He was certain his own sailors would never fight against one, under whom they so often had conquered." Louis answered with one of those graceful but insincere compli-

* Gazette, July 17.

ments which were habitual to him: "It was the first favour he
"had refused to his friend, and it should be the last."

PART II.
BOOK V.

1690.

Sends Tour-
ville to burn
Tinmouth.
July 25.

BEFORE the English and Dutch preparations could be ready, however, Louis sent Tourville's fleet, on the 21st of July, once more to brave the coast of England. It hovered a few days, spreading more resentment than alarms; and concluded by burning the insignificant town of Tinmouth, with a few fishing-vessels in the harbour. The English, who had been so lately dejected, now recovered their spirits, denied they had ever been frightened, and hoped to make others believe them, in the ridicule which they threw upon the late bravadoes of the French.

THE enmities and the friendship of Louis XIV. were equally fatal, at this time, to sovereign princes. The brave and unfortunate Duke of Lorraine, having been called to Vienna, to receive the command of an army which was to reinstate him in the dominions which France had taken from him, died at a small village in his way. Perceiving his end to approach, he wrote these affecting lines to the Emperor: "I departed from Inspruck, to come
"and receive your orders. Our God calls me hence, and I am go-
"ing to render him an account of a life which I had devoted to
"you. I humbly beseech your Majesty to remember my wife,
"who is nearly related to you, my children, whom I leave with-
"out any fortune, and my subjects, who are oppressed."

IN the mean time, William in Ireland did not make all the advantage of his success which had been expected. The news of the French victory at sea, which he received a few days after his own, disconcerted him. He found himself also under difficulties in the use he should make of the victory of the Boyne. If he followed the Irish army across the island, into the interior part of the country, into which it was retired, he saw that his fleet would be left exposed in open harbours, to the depredations of the French, who were now masters of the sea: Or if, to gain protection for his ships, he should spend his time in taking the towns that were spread along the sea-coast, the enemy's army might recover from their conster-

The King's
progress in
Ireland.

PART II.
BOOK V.

1690.

nation, and make head against him a-new. He chose the safest course, and proceeded south along the sea-coast; yet he sent general Douglas after the flying enemies, with ten regiments of foot, and five of cavalry, to try if, by the suddenness of the motion, he could disperse them. William, in his march, took Wexford, Waterford, and Duncannon fort; and, having put his fleet into places of safety, left the army on the 27th July, to return to England with five regiments, upon receiving intelligence, that the French fleet was a second time upon the coast. But, when he heard that it was gone away, after burning Tinmouth, and that all things were quiet in England, he returned to the army; and, on the 8th of August, advanced to Limerick, around which most of the enemy's army was gathered. General Douglas, who had in vain pursued the enemy, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Athlone, joined him at Limerick.

He besieges
Limerick.

Aug. 9.

THE garrison consisted of 14 regiments of foot and five of cavalry. Tyrconnel lay eight miles off with a considerable body of men; the French, who had not as yet got shipping to return to their own country, were at Galway; and the garrison had a communication with these aids, because as the town stood upon two branches of a rapid river, William durst not separate his army, but made all his attempts upon the English side of the river. He was encouraged by the ease with which he surmounted his first difficulties*: The approach to the town upon the side which he intended to attack, was by a pass 150 yards broad running between two bogs. The pass was cut by a number of hedges, and was terminated at the end next the town by an old fort, which had been built by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law. The enemies had indeed lined the hedges with infantry; but they had so little knowledge of defence, that they made no use of the fort. The day after the King and Douglas arrived, the pioneers, under the protection of the van, cut down the hedges of the pass one after another, and the army followed in order. The Irish fired from hedge to hedge, retreating always after one fire; so that William's difficulty lay more in

* Story 2. 113.

clearing the way, than in beating the enemy. In this manner he got through the pass, and found shelter for part of his troops in the old fort. His approaches were made only with his field train, and a few mortars, because the battering cannon which he had ordered to follow him were not yet come up. The governor was Boisfelot, a Frenchman, who answered to the summons of surrender, "That he wished to gain the Prince of Orange's good opinion, and he could not expect it, unless he should defend his post well."

PART II.
BOOK V.
1690.

THREE days after the siege was commenced, Colonel Sarsfield, having got intelligence, that the battering cannon, and great part of the ammunition, and other things necessary for a siege, were expected to arrive at the camp next morning, but that they were slenderly guarded, from over-security with respect to a foe that was every where retiring, went secretly out of the town in the night-time with a strong body of cavalry, and lurked eight miles behind the King's camp in the mountains till the convoy arrived. He spiked the cannon, blew up the ammunition, destroyed the rest of the convoy, before succours could arrive, and returned unhurt to his friends in the town, through the same secret path by which he had issued.

His convoy
cut off.

IRRITATED, not discouraged, and still too much despising an Irish enemy, the King continued the siege, the rather because the same old fort and pass, which might have embarrassed him in advancing, secured his retreat if he failed of success. The tenth day after the trenches were opened, he ordered a general storm at a breach twelve yards wide. The troops advanced boldly, carried the counter-scarp, mounted the breach, and part of them entered the town. But the inhabitants, eager to give that defeat to King William, which those of Londonderry had given to King James, animated the garrison. Even the women, from the same emulation, filled the places which the soldiers had quitted. The garrison rallied: More troops poured into the town from the country behind: And, after a dispute of three hours, William was obliged to desist, with the loss of 500 of his English troops killed, and 1000 wounded, besides the loss of the foreigners, which was probably as great, because in the attack they were equal in numbers to the English.

He storms
the town
unsuccess-
fully.
August 27.

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Aug 30.
and raises
the siege.
The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough's ex-
pedition.

He raised the siege soon after, and the same day set off for England, leaving Count Solmes to command the army. But Solmes leaving it likewise soon after, General Ginkell, a Dutchman, was put in his place*.

THE triumph of the Irish was short lived. The city of Cork was accounted strong from the works which the Irish and French had made, and it was possessed by a garrison of 4000 men: But Lord Marlborough, knowing that there was a station which made the works of little avail, and having got certain intelligence that the French fleet was laid up for the season, pressed the Queen and council, to trust him with 5000 of the troops who were then lying idle in England, and pawned his reputation, that he would take both Cork and Kingsale before winter. They yielded to that confidence of success which in great genius is irresistible; and he arrived at Cork upon the twenty-first of September. The Duke of Wirtemberg joined him with 4000 Danes, to rob him of half the glory that should be gained, by insisting for an equality in command, under pretence that he was a sovereign Prince, although he was a younger officer in rank, and brought only auxiliaries with him. Lord Marlborough felt the arrogance, yet pretended he did not; and, by yielding his private honour to the public safety, insured both. They agreed to command alternately each day. The English general commanded first; but, to show the same superiority over his rival, in politeness, as in reason, he gave out for the word of the day, "Wirtemberg." The Prince then felt, for the first time, that he had been in the wrong; and, when his turn came, gave for the word of the day, "Marlborough." Their succeeding struggles were only directed to show, who should best deserve the command, and could give most assistance to the other. From their ships they stormed the fort which defended the harbour, and bombarded the harbour and the town. From the station which Lord Marlborough had remarked, they made a breach in the walls; and the army, under the cover of the batteries, and two bomb vessels, passed the river, up to the armpits, to mount the breach. But, at the instant, when the soldiers were approaching the walls, the garrison,

* Gazette.

upon the fourth day of the siege, hung out a flag, and surrendered at discretion. Next day, Lord Marlborough sent brigadier Villers, with 500 horse, to summon Kingsale. The governor set fire to the old town, and retired to the two forts. On the last of September, the siege was begun. On the 2d of October, one of the forts was taken by storm. The governor was summoned a-new. His answer was: "It would be time enough to talk of that matter a month hence." On the 5th, the trenches were opened. In ten days more, the counter scarp being mastered, an assault was ready, when the garrison of 1500 men surrendered, and was conducted by capitulation to Limerick. Marlborough returned to London upon the 28th of October *, vain, that like a soldier, he had kept his word; but secretly indignant, that it was not oftner put to the test. The nation received him with acclamations, observing, with a mixture of honest pride and malignant jealousy, that an English officer had done more in a month, than all the King's foreign generals had done in two campaigns.

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UPON William's return from Ireland, he assembled his parliament on the 2d of October. In his speech he mentioned for the first and the last time of his reign, the joy with which the people had received him in the counties through which he had passed: A seeming puerility, yet a pleasing one; because it marked that he loved popularity, although he was too proud to show it. With more authority, he demanded from parliament, vast assistance for the support of the war and of the crown, and concluded with these words: "Whoever goes about to obstruct or divert your application to these matters preferably to all others, can neither be my friend nor the kingdom's." An insinuation which was thought to strike at the freedom of debate, but which was overlooked in the present stream of his popularity. The parliament, which is generally led by the passions of the people, while it pretends to direct them, was seized with a transport of loyalty. For the tories ran before the King's wishes, to cement their new friendship; the whigs did not oppose him, lest they might lose him altogether; and all wise men perceived the necessity of national effort from the dan-

Vigorous
measures of
parliament.

* Gazette, Oct. 30.

1690.

gers which the nation had so lately escaped. They provided, therefore, four millions, the greatest sum that had ever been given by an English parliament, for the support of the ordonnance, of the army, which was to consist of 69,000 men, and of the fleet which was to be manned by 28,000 seamen. After they had given this sum they raised near L. 500,000 more, for the building of 17 new ships of war: A measure which the King suggested after all the other supplies had been granted, and which was instantly approved of. And the session went on almost without a division upon any measure of government.

Dispute about Irish forfeitures.

ONE thing however was brought into the house of commons which was disagreeable to the court. William had many friends and officers who had served him long and faithfully, at periods of his life when they could expect little reward for their services. The parsimony of the English parliament had put it out of the King's power to make them partake of his better fortune. He therefore intended to show his sense of their fidelity, by bestowing upon them some of the Irish forfeited estates. In order to disappoint this intention, a motion was made for an address to apply a million out of these estates for the services of the public. But it was over-ruled by the court-interest. A bill was next brought in for applying the forfeited estates themselves to the same purpose. But the court got a clause added, that the crown should have the disposal of a third of them, and the bill itself put off from time to time. Soon after the King, to draw a veil over the dispute altogether, prorogued the parliament, with a promise, that he would make no grants of these forfeitures until the parliament should come to a resolution concerning them; a promise which he too much neglected.

Dec. 26.

Torrington's trial.

IN order to oblige the Dutch, or perhaps to give way to that severity of temper which the King indulged against military miscarriage, he had, in his speech to parliament, threatened vengeance against those who had misbehaved in the late sea-engagement: A menace directed to Lord Torrington, and against which therefore that Lord prepared himself. The King gave orders to try him by

a court-martial. But Torrington, objected, that, as the office of Lord High Admiral, was in commissioners, he could not be tried by a court-martial, sitting under their authority; and that, therefore, his Peers alone were his judges. To obviate this, an act of parliament was obtained, vesting all the powers of the High-Admiral in the commissioners: A measure which injured the law under pretence of respecting it. Torrington's defence was vigorous, suited to the pride of the man, and to his indignation. He proved his inferiority in strength to the enemy; and that all his captains had given their opinions against venturing a battle. He reminded his judges of the wounds they had seen him receive. He pointed to the socket of the * eye, which he had lost in the cause of his country. He asserted the Dutch were destroyed by their own rashness: "And I trust," said he "that an English court-martial will not sacrifice me, who saved the English fleet and England, to a foreign, and to a Dutch resentment." The court was composed chiefly of men averse from his interest: Yet honour, displeasure with the King for interposing where the character of an officer was concerned, and the reflection common to most officers, that Torrington's fate might be their own at another time, prevailed, and they acquitted him. The King, however, dismissed him from his service, would never again admit him to his presence, and placed his rival Ruffel in his stead: Severities which displeased those of higher ranks, who thought that recent faults might have been over-looked for the sake of antient services, and that it is the part of kings often to pardon after condemnation, but never to condemn after acquittal. But the multitude was pleased, partly from that envy which they always entertain against their superiors; and partly, because they connected together, Torrington's previous unwillingness to engage, with his succeeding flight in the engagement.

In the mean time, the differences between the Irish and French, which had been kept in some awe by James's presence, broke all bounds after he quitted Ireland. Duels and assassinations happened daily amongst them; and the troops were obliged to be kept in se-

Causes of
the continu-
ance of the
war in Ire-
land.

* Dr. Campbell, vol. 3. p. 313.

parate districts, to prevent even the bands themselves from encountering. In this situation the French officers represented continually to their own court, that their aid in Ireland was unavailing; and that the minds of the Irish were sufficiently unbittered against each other to continue the war, although foreign interposition was withdrawn. Upon these representations, and from an impolitic parsimony natural to French councils, the French in the beginning of winter, recalled their troops from Ireland. To make some apology for this measure, the French King flattered James with the prospect of landing him in England at Christmas *, when the English and Dutch fleets would be laid up for the winter: But afterwards he retracted the offers he had made. James, stung with the double disappointment, and conscious that the miseries of Ireland brought advantage only to the French, sent orders to Tyrconnel to quit Ireland, and to make the best terms for his countrymen that he could.

But an imprudent measure which had been taken by William, in the heat of victory, prolonged the miseries of that country. He had published an amnesty immediately after the battle of the Boyne; but, in pursuit of the project which he had for some time entertained of making the fortunes of his followers out of the Irish estates that were forfeited, he made an exception from the amnesty: "Of the desperate leaders of the present rebellion †;" words general and indefinite, which every man in rebellion applied to himself, and which therefore tied him the firmer to his party. Hence the Irish had continued the war during the summer, after James had seemed to relinquish it: And hence, the Irish officers now opposed that peace which Tyrconnel pressed upon them, being apprehensive lest they should fall a sacrifice to it. Tyrconnel, finding it impossible to execute one part of his master's orders, obeyed the other, and returned to France. The Duke of Berwick, however, continued some time among the Irish, to try if he could keep them in order. But, deserted by their Sovereign, their allies, and their governor, they spurned at his authority, and declared, "They would find their own resources, and trust to them alone." Berwick, impatient of his situation, returned

* State Trials 3. p. 888.

† Gazette, July 10.

to France without orders, and left the command of the army to Sarsfield, who was become popular among his countrymen, upon account of the defeat he had given to the King's attempt upon Limerick, but who, having been himself attainted, found his interest and revenge as a rebel, united to his glory as a General, in the prolongation of the war.

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So long as the summer lasted, the Irish of both sides had kept up their spirits, because that season had passed in various successes to both. But, when the armies retired to their winter quarters, the people of Ireland found themselves oppressed with miseries which admitted of no alleviation, because they were attended with no variety *. The armies spread themselves in parties placed at small distances from each other, all over the frontiers of the provinces they possessed, to cover them, and to get provisions and forage with the greater ease. Whilst the armies had been ranged in camps against each other, the common laws of war were observed, because it was the interest of all to respect them; and the soldiers had not injured the country, partly because they were supplied from public magazines and by public officers, and partly, because they still however depended for many things upon the country-people. But they had no sooner got into cantonments, than they indulged in the wantonness of cruelty, because it was attended with no danger; and plundered friends and foes alike, for which the want of pay among the English †, and the brass-pay of the Irish soldiers, furnished them with excuses. The Germans, French, and Danes, of the English army, declared, without scruple, that they considered themselves as in an enemy's country ‡; and they were too numerous to be punished. The French, on the Irish side, acted the same part as long as they continued in Ireland, and were besides instigated by injuries given and received. The Dutch almost alone respecting their Prince and themselves, preserved their national modesty. The situation of the cantonments soon brought on a partizan-war during the winter, and then the miseries of Ireland

Miseries of Ireland during the winter.

* Story passim. † King's speech, October 2. 1690. ‡ Letter from Lord Gallway to Lord Nottingham, March 14. 1692; and others in the paper-office. Burnet 2 p. 66.

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became compleat. For the spirits of men had been imbittered to an unusual degree against each other, by the ancient antipathies between English and Irish, the latter between protestant and papist, and the present between royalist and rebel; but above all, by the resentment for the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom, which both sides complained of and practised. A great part of the men of rank had been attainted by the English, and a much greater by the Irish parliament. And both of these found now their safety and their pleasure united, in taking vengeance against those who had proscribed them. The middling ranks of men, harassed by the armies and by their superiors, saw that their only security lay in taking side with one of the parties, to prevent their being treated as enemies by both, and to plunder others instead of being plundered themselves; pretending principle, therefore, they formed themselves into militias, when they could not be admitted into the troops, and increased the havock of war.

Manners of
the Rapparees.

BUT the chief disorders came from the lowest class of the nation called Rapparees*. The genius of nations often depends upon the food with which they are nourished. When men obtain subsistence without any exertion of industry, they become indifferent with regard to their cloathing and habitation; and indifference to these creates a habit of indolence in every thing else. The potatoe root, upon which most of the common people of Ireland, at that time, subsisted, while it increased the population, debased the character of the nation; because a man by the work of a few days, could raise as much food as was sufficient to maintain him during the rest of the year. The Rapparee was the lowest of the low people. He lived in the country upon that root alone. In his cloathing, he was half naked. His house consisted of a mud-wall, and a few branches of trees, covered with grass or bushes, one end of the branch being stuck into the ground, and the other laid upon the wall; a fabrick which could be erected in an hour. He was a part rather of the spot on which he grew, than of the community to which he belonged; or when he entered into society, he did it with all the selfishness and ferocity of uncivilized nature. Each party hunted out these people against the other, though the instru-

* Story, 1. p. 16. 2. p. 68.

ment of vengeance often recoiled upon themselves: For the Rapparees knew little difference between friend and foe, receiving no mercy, they gave none, and, not regarding their own lives, they were always masters of those of other men. They rendezvoused during the night, coming to some solitary station, from an hundred places at once, by paths which none else knew *. There, in darkness and deserts they planned their mischievous expeditions. Their way of conducting them was, sometimes to make incursions from a distance in small bodies, which, as they advanced, being joined at appointed places by others, grew greater and greater every hour: And, as they made these incursions at times when the moon was quite dark, it became impossible to trace their steps, except by the cries of those whom they were murdering, or the flames of the houses, barn-yards, and villages, which they burnt as they went along. At other times they hung about the cantonments of the troops, under pretence of asking written protections, or of complaining, that they had been driven from their country by the other army. It was difficult to detect, or to guard against them till too late, seeing they went unarmed, and more with the appearance of being overcome with fears themselves, than of giving them to others †. But they carried the locks of their muskets in their pockets, or hid them in dry holes of old walls, and they laid the muskets themselves charged, and closely corked up at the muzzle and touch-hole, in ditches, with which they were acquainted. So that bodies of regular troops often found themselves defeated in an instant, they knew not how or from whence. Their retreat was equally swift and safe; because they ran off into bogs, by passages with which others were unacquainted, and hiding themselves in the unequal surfaces formed by the bog-grass, or laying themselves all along, in muddy water, with nothing but the mouth and nostrils above, it became more easy to find game than the fugitives. These people gave an unusual horror to the appearance of war; because they mangled the bodies of those whom they slew, partly from rage, and partly to strike terror; and they tore corsees from the graves, for the sake of their shrouds ‡.

* Story, 2. p. 50. † Story, 2. p. 152. ‡ Story passim.—Story's list of persons who died in the Irish war, contains the following three articles: Rapparees killed by the army or militia, 1928.—Rapparees killed and hanged by soldiers and others, without any ceremony, 112.—Murdered privately by the Rapparees, 800. Story, 2. p. 317.

FROM these springs flowed the bitterest waters of misery, upon a nation naturally martial, without employment, and not debilitated by commerce or luxury. For, while some of the Irish took a side in the civil war from principle, and therefore carried it on with all the keenness which principle inspires, more chose theirs, with a view to enrich themselves at the expence of their friends, or to take their revenge against their enemies. The former perverted the names and rules of justice, to serve their cause. For they condemned many to die without trial, and called this the law of war: But these were the most fortunate; seeing, to others to whom a trial was offered* the false semblance of justice was more cruel than the death it inflicted. Among the latter, even the virtues of war were lost: For prisoners were massacred in cold blood who had surrendered upon terms; those who had refused to take quarter in battle, turned informers after it against their friends; and bands were not tied together by friendship, or faith, or pride, but only by common dangers, or society in crimes. Both sides joined against the persons who took no side, either from the contempt which men in arms entertain of those who avoid war, or perhaps, because they felt a cessation of their own miseries, while they were inflicting them upon others. Yet one thing was wanting, which, in other wars of fellow citizens, degrades human nature: The opponents changed not their principles or parties; not their principles, because their declarations of them had been too open and too bold to be retracted; not their parties, because the consciousness of injury made them despair of pardon, and prevented all treaty.

THUS, in one little kingdom, incircled every where by the sea, and shut up by an embargo, circumstances, which disabled those to fly from it, who wished to fly, all the horrors of foreign, of civil, of religious, and of private war, were united †.

* Books of privy-council, June 6. 1689. Gazette, May 1. 1689. Books of Scottish privy-council. † Story. Gazettes. Proclamations. Irish correspondence in the paper-office.

BOOK VI.

CONGRESS at the Hague.—*The French take Mons.*—**Second Conspiracy against the Government.**—*Discovered.*—**Lord Preston's Confession.**—*Deprivation of the Bishops.*—**State of the Armies in Ireland.**—*Ginkell takes the English Part of Athlone.*—**Dispute for the Irish Part of it.**—*A Council of War.*—**Athlone taken.**—*Movements and Stations of Armies, with the Battle of Agrim.*—**Consequences of the Battle, and Account of the Siege of Limerick.**—*Variety of Opinions about the Capitulation of Limerick.*—**Campaigns upon the Continent.**—*Vigorous Measures of Parliament.*—**Massacre of Glenco.**—*Severities against Episcopacy in Scotland.*

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WILLIAM had no sooner prorogued the parliament, than he went over to Holland in the middle of January, to preside at the congress of the confederates against France, and to enjoy, perhaps, the greatest pleasure of which the human mind is susceptible, the consciousness of having first preserved, and then aggrandized his country, without invading its liberty. To strike foreigners with the greater idea of his state, and perhaps to secure himself against innovations in his absence, he carried with him a still greater number of the nobility and persons of rank, than he had done when he went to Ireland. Men, fond of expence at all times, and who now indulged it from principle, to shew, in the eyes of foreigners, their Sovereign's pre-eminence, and their own. The King made a magnificent entry into the Hague; a compliment which he never paid to the English. His speech to the States-General, being his own, was observed to flow from the heart. "From his earliest

Congress at
the Hague.

“youth,” he said, “he had loved their country; could that love be heightened by any thing, the consciousness of the returns of kindness he had met with from his countrymen could alone do it: He should die well satisfied, if he could once secure their repose.”

THE congress consisted of the Electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria, the Landgraves of Hesse Darmstadt, and Homberg, the Princes of the house of Lunenburg, of Wirtemberg, of Anspagh, the Prince Palatine of Berkenfeldt, the Dukes of Holstein, Courland, and Saxe-Eysenach, the Marquis of Castagnana, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and the ministers of all the Princes of the confederacy against France. But, above all, the King of England was conspicuous; because he was the soul which animated this vast body. All these Princes agreed to waive ceremony, and to live upon the footing of equals; William, in this apparent equality, but real superiority, enjoying a satisfaction and pride, which Lewis XIV. in all his state and affectation of pre-eminence, never experienced.

The King's
speech at
the congress.

THE King opened the congress with one of the most animating speeches that modern ages has produced. “The states of Europe,” he said, “had too long indulged themselves in a spirit of division, or of delay, and of attention to particular interests. But, while the dangers which threatened them from France reminded them of past errors, they pointed out also, the necessity of amending them for the future. It was not now a time to deliberate, but to act. Already the French King had made himself master of the chief fortresses around his kingdom, which were the only barriers to his ambition; and, if not instantly opposed, he would soon seize the rest. All ought, therefore, to be convinced, that the particular interest of each was comprised in the general interest of the whole. The enemy's forces were strong, and they would carry things like a torrent before them. It was in vain to oppose complaints and unprofitable protestations against injustice. It was not the resolutions of diets, nor hopes founded on treaties, but strong armies, and firm union among the allies, which alone

"could stop the enemy in his course. With these they must now
"snatch the liberties of Europe out of his hands, or submit for ever
"to his yoke. As to himself, he would not spare his credit, his for-
"ces, or his person, and would come in the spring, at the head of
"his troops, to conquer or to perish with his allies."

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The confederates resolved, at this congress, to bring into the field, next campaign, an army of above 200,000 men, of which the Emperor, Spain, Brandenburg, and England, were to furnish each 20,000; the Dutch, 35,000; Savoy and Milan, 18,000; Bavaria, the same number; Saxony, 12,000; the Palatinate, 4,000; Hesse, 8,000; Swabia and Franconia, 10,000; Wirtemberg, 6,000; Leige, the same number; Munster, 7,000; and the Princes of Lunenburg, 16,000. They agreed also upon the heads of a declaration, in which they were to publish their resolution, not to lay down arms against France, until she should make restitution of all she had taken from neighbouring nations, since the peace of Munster; until the parliaments, clergy, nobility, towns, and people of France should be restored to their antient privileges; and until Lewis had made reparation to the holy see, for the injuries he had done it. Already in imagination, the Princes of Europe grasped the first of these provisions; the French, suspicious of gifts from enemies, and, perhaps, lost even to the sound of liberty, scorned that protection which was offered them in the second; and the English, who had been enraged against their former Prince for paying some compliments of civility to the Pope, because these led to consequences, now heard of the last with indifference, because it led to none.

Resolution
of the allies.

From the splendor of this congress, William retired to enjoy the pleasures of solitude at Loo, where he had spent his infancy and youth. But he was soon disturbed with the news that Louis XIV. taking advantage of a favourable season in the month of March, and attended by the Dauphin, and the princes of the blood, had laid siege to Mons, which was garrisoned by 5000 soldiers, and a still greater number of burghers. William hastened to assemble his army to protect the town. He called the troops of the allies

The French
take Mons.

from all quarters to his assistance. Louis XIV. drew his garrisons from the neighbouring towns to reinforce himself. The two armies approached with their Sovereigns at their heads: All Europe was big with expectation to see the Kings of England and of France placed against each other in battle, a few months after the Kings of England had exhibited the same spectacle. But the German troops assembled slowly: The Spaniards, to whom the care of the carriages of the army had been committed, neglected to provide them: William found himself obliged to act with caution: And, in the mean time, the burghers, a race of men never to be trusted in danger, because they have much to lose, and nothing to gain in it, forced the troops to surrender Mons, by threatening to open the gates, if they did not. Louis XIV. who, during all his life, appeared more intent to mortify than to conquer his rival, returned to Versailles, and sent back his soldiers to their winter-quarters.

Second conspiracy against the government.

WHEN William's intention to go abroad was made known, his enemies resolved to take advantage of the opportunity, which his absence would afford them, to enter into a new conspiracy against his government. The indignation of many of the whigs against him for dissolving the convention-parliament, for breaking with their party, and combining his interests with those of their rivals and enemies, had been gathering strength by time and reflection; and their submission in parliament had been only a contrivance to lull his anxieties asleep, and a prelude to the mischiefs they meditated. They joined themselves to a number of the tory-party. Both made advances to the adherents of the late King. And all, making concessions to each other, concurred in complaining of things, with which most of them had been separately pleased. They inveighed, "It was now time for the nation to recover from the delirium in-
"to which the ill conduct of James had plunged it; for James to
"show his sense of past errors; and for both to forgive the inju-
"ries they had mutually given and received. The remedy which
"had been tried, was found to be worse than the disease; they
"must now, therefore, return to old principles upon new con-

Complaints on which it was founded.

"ditions. If King James had not all the reverence for the liberty
 "and religion of his country which he ought, he had at least pri-
 "vate virtue: but his successor had neither. For, that *habeas corpus*
 "law, which Charles the Second and his brother had sacredly ob-
 "served, William had got suspended: He had attempted in Eng-
 "land, to invade the shrines and altars of the church, and to bring
 "her mortal foes into her bosom; and, in Scotland, he had over-
 "turned that hierarchy in an hour, which the race of Stuart had
 "defended near a century, one of them at the expence of his life,
 "and another with the risk of his crown: He had come into Eng-
 "land under the pretence of reconciling the King to his people;
 "yet had dethroned him: Not contented with commanding his
 "father-in-law, and uncle, to retire from his own palace, driving
 "him from his kingdom, excluding the right of one of his children
 "from the succession, and postponing that of another, he had,
 "under the pretence of communicating royalty to that wife whom
 "he pretended to love, left her only the name of it. His obliga-
 "tions to individuals he had repaid with ingratitude exactly pro-
 "portioned to their extent: For the bishops, who first raised the
 "popular torrent of which he took advantage, were suspended, and
 "deprivation was just hanging over them: Lord Mordaunt, who
 "had pointed him the way to the crown, and Lord Hallifax, who,
 "in the name of the people of England, had presented the crown itself
 "to him, he had dismissed from serving under it: Lord Torrington,
 "who had confirmed the spirits of the Dutch seamen, and caused
 "those of the English seamen to waver, at the time of the revolu-
 "tion, he had disgraced, first at the head of the admiralty, as a
 "weak minister, and now, at that of the fleet, as a coward: Lord
 "Marlborough, who had debauched the army, and gained the
 "Prince and Princess of Denmark to his interest, had been trusted
 "only once with an independent command; and that Lord had
 "more to fear now from his own success, than others from the
 "want of it: Marlborough's brother, Captain Churchill, who had
 "been the first sea-officer that gave up his ship to him, he had not
 "protected against the partialities of party in the house of com-
 "mons: Lord Cornbury, who was the first officer in the land-ser-
 "vice that had deserted his King and his General, had been among

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"the first to be cashiered by him. The Duke of Ormond, who for
 "him had cast away a loyalty which was the pride of his family, had
 "shared the same fate. The Princess, who had consented to place
 "the crown upon his head at the expence of her own rights, he had
 "mal-treated. He had affronted her husband. And, before he
 "was a year upon the throne, he had dismissed that parliament,
 "and broken with that party, which had placed him upon it. Un-
 "grateful to the nation which had raised him high, as well as to
 "individuals, the national troops he did not trust; he preferred the
 "Dutch officers every where to the English; took care of their
 "wounded seamen when his own was neglected; and sacrificed
 "the honour of the nation, by making apologies for the behaviour
 "of the fleet to foreigners, and arraigning it in parliament; and
 "was now meditating to enrich his countrymen by the calamities
 "of Ireland, which his negligence had at first occasioned, and his
 "imprudence now prevented from being brought to a period. He
 "had engaged England in a war with which, had it not been upon
 "his account, she had nothing to do; and while he was sending
 "the fleet to pay idle compliments to a German Princess, he had
 "exposed the navy, the coasts, and the capital, defenceless, to an
 "enemy which he had drawn upon them. The friendship of his
 "countrymen was as fatal to the nation as his own; for their rash-
 "ness at Beachy-head had brought as much danger upon it, as their
 "delays in avoiding the battle of Bantry-bay. Disgrace, misfor-
 "tune, ruin, attended him: He had never gained a battle, but
 "against his own subjects: The maritime glory of England, unsulli-
 "ed for centuries, had been twice lost by him in a reign of two
 "years: The trade of England, which had flourished so high in
 "the two last reigns, was now fallen a victim to the ambition of a
 "Prince, who was solely intent upon defending his own title, or
 "conducting the projects of other nations. He had raised yearly
 "sums from England, unknown since the conquest, and all to no
 "purpose. Even victory was to him unprofitable; for, instead of
 "repairing the state of Ireland, after defeating its enemies, he had
 "left that kingdom in a heap of ruins."

THESE complaints, often repeated, at last broke forth into action. A number of whigs and tories assembled together, to consult how those ends might be obtained which both wished for. In their conference, several errors in the conduct of the late conspiracy were pointed out. They remarked, "That, by taking measures for insurrections in different parts of England, those, who were engaged in the conspiracy had given the alarm to government: That, the French fleet had been sent out too late in the summer: That, as James's intended return had been preceded by no declaration from him, which could either secure individuals of their pardon, or the nation of its rights, it had had the air of a conquest; and the people, upon that account, had been animated against it: That the same ideas had been confirmed by the conduct of the French King, who, while he pretended to interest himself in the settlement of a protestant kingdom, was persecuting the protestant religion in his own: And that even James himself did not seem sensible of former errors, seeing he was still surrounded with Roman catholic counsellors." They, therefore, proposed, that James's restoration should be effected intirely by foreign forces, to be employed in a double invasion; one in Scotland, and the other in England: That, in the ensuing February, James should sail to Scotland, and be joined there by 5000 Swedes, who, because they were of the protestant religion, it was thought would remove part of the odium which attended an invasion by foreigners: That, in March, while the English forces were to be sent towards Scotland, to oppose James, and before the new ships on the stocks in England and Holland could be finished, or the fleets of the two nations for the summer service be joined, a French fleet should land a French army in England: And, to lessen even the odium of this last embarkation, that the French King should immediately give full liberty of conscience in his kingdom, and agree in the conduct of his part of the invasion to act as a mediator between James and his people, not as an ally to conquer them for him. It was further concerted, that James should now remove his Roman-catholic counsellors, and publish a declaration when he landed, that he would send back his foreign troops, whenever those of his enemy should be removed, and refer all the subjects of late jealousies to a free parliament.

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1691.
A consultation of
whigs and
tories.

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1691.

Lord Preston and
Ashton sent
to France.

From that spirit of selfishness which attends most conspiracies, because the persons engaged in them know well the value of the risks which they are running, the persons who composed this meeting, under the pretence that all his other correspondents either hurt or betrayed him, insisted, that James should give up all correspondence in England, except with themselves, and that he should receive seven or nine of their number, as a standing council, to attend and advise him in France. In order to lose no time, it was resolved to send over trusty persons to France, with the result of this consultation, and to receive an answer to the terms of it. The persons fixed upon were Ashton and Lord Preston; the one because his fidelity had been tried in the late conspiracy, and the other, because his former rank of ambassador in France, and Secretary of State in England, would, it was thought, give weight to the negotiation at Versailles and St. Germain. Lord Dartmouth was the person who chiefly pressed on these engagements. For, stung with a suspicion entertained by James, that he had, at the revolution, betrayed the fleet with which he was trusted, he had, soon after that period, given assurances, that he would bring the fleet to revolt: But finding, upon trial, that his influence was less with the officers than with the seamen, he had next proposed, that the French, after putting their seamen ashore in winter as usual, should send their ships of war, with only as many hands as could work them, to the coast of England; pledging his honour, that he would get them instantly manned with English seamen. But Louis XIV. refused to venture his ships, not without some expressions of distrust, similar to those which James had formerly indulged. From these circumstances, Dartmouth had become impatient for an opportunity to wipe off all stains from his honour.

They are
seized.

ASHTON hired a smack, to carry Lord Preston and himself into France. They took a barge secretly, and in the dark, above the bridge of London, and went on board the smack below it: Ashton tied a string, with a weight, round their papers, to sink them if they were boarded. But providence seemed to interest itself in the interruption of this conspiracy. As it is natural for the human mind, to give vent one way or other, to whatever

occupies it entirely, Ashton appeared uneasy whilst they waited at the inn, and said to one of his companions, upon hearing the cock crow, "That bad fortune would attend them, he liked not the omen." This created a suspicion in the master, which he communicated to the owner of the smack, who communicated it to Lord Caermarthen, president of the council. The night being cold, one of Lord Preston's party borrowed the waterman's coat in the barge, and in the hurry carried it off; and the complaints of the waterman to his companions directed Caermarthen's messenger to the name of the smack. When the smack passed a frigate of war in the river, Lord Preston and Ashton hid themselves in the ballast; and, by this accident, they were prevented from throwing their packet over-board, when they were seized.

THE result of the consultation, the heads of James's intended declaration, a list of the English fleet which had been supplied by Lord Dartmouth, a paper of notes concerning the project of the invasion, with a number of letters falsely subscribed, directed, and written in a cant style, but amidst which it was easy to discover that the letters were intended for the late King, were found in Ashton's bosom. The papers, when read at court, raised many jealousies. In one of the letters, which was in the bishop of Ely's hand-writing, to James, under the name of Mr. Redding, it was said: "I speak in the plural, because I write my elder brother's sentiments as well as my own, and the rest of the family's, though lessened in number; yet, if we are not mightily mistaken, we are growing in our interest; that is in your's." Words which plainly imported, that the rest of the deprived bishops were his associates. Another, in the hand-writing of Lord Clarendon, contained these words: "Now is the time to make large advantages by trading; the sea, being freer than it has been these two months past, or we can hope it will be two months hence. It is most earnestly desired, that this happy opportunity may not be lost, especially by the late undertakers; and I would not for much, they should receive the least disgust. They are somewhat positive in their terms; but they also say, they will be good and constant customers: And I have more than once seen the mischief of over-rating and over-staying the market.

Contents of
their papers.

Dec. 31.

“ Opportunities are to be used ; they cannot be given by men * : ” Expressions which were thought to relate, and did relate, to the late accession of many of the whig party to the cause of James. The paper, called “ The result of the conference, confirmed this : Because, in the beginning, it ran, “ In the name of both whigs “ and tories ; ” and at the conclusion bore, “ that it was with the “ unanimous consent of those whigs and tories who are now in a “ way of closing for his interest.” But the paper of notes, which was in Preston’s hand-writing, gave the greatest alarm ; because it imported, that the common seamen were disloyal, that Rear-Admiral Carter, and other sea-officers at Portsmouth, were unsteady ; made mention, with ambiguity and darkness, of some of the King’s servants, and of the greatest of the whig Lords ; and contained hints of schemes big with mischief to England ; and, among others, that ships should be brought from Scotland to block up Newcastle, and by that means to cut off the city of London from fuel ; and that, whilst one part of a French fleet was stationed to command Plymouth, another should attack Portsmouth, in which, it was said, there were not 500 men at the time.

Jan. 16.
Lord Preston’s confession.

LORD PRESTON and Ashton, refused to turn informers. Their trials were therefore hurried on about a fortnight after they were taken, in order, by the terrors of death, to force a discovery. They were both condemned. Ashton was executed, obstinate in silence, and proud, by his example, to point out to his noble associate the conduct which he ought to follow. When Preston † was heated with dinner and wine, and the incitements of his friends, he resolved to die too, but in the solitude of the mornings and evenings, he gave signs of faltering. During this interval, his daughter, who was then a young girl about court, looking one day upon King James’s picture at Kensington, and Queen Mary asking

* Another of his letters ran thus : “ The sea will quickly grow so troublesome, “ that, unless you dispatch what you intend for us, you will lose a great opportunity “ of advantage. I hope the account he has to give of our negotiations here with “ the merchants that deal with us, especially those that have lately brought us their “ custom, will both encourage a larger trade, and excite the utmost diligence.”

† Burnet.

her, what she was doing, she answered, "I am reflecting how hard it is, that my father should be put to death for loving your father*." At last, to determine the fluctuation of Preston's spirits, he was brought into the King's presence, who had come over for a few days from Holland, tempted with a pardon, and examined by Lord Caermarthen. He confessed against the bishops, and Clarendon, and many of the known partizans of the late King. He then named among his associates, the Duke of Ormond, the Lords Dartmouth, Macclesfield, Brandon, and Mr. Pen the Quaker; and added, Pen told him, that, although Lord Dorset and Lord Devonshire had not attended the conference, they were of the party. He offered to name others of the great whig families. Lord Caermarthen, who had formerly and lately been persecuted by that party, eagerly pushed him on, bidding him go to the bottom of the conspiracy. But the King, who stood behind Caermarthen's chair, and was then leaning over it, touched him upon the shoulder, saying, "My Lord, there is too much of this;" and, with equal prudence and generosity, drew a veil over offences into which the best of his subjects had been too hastily betrayed. Yet, to prevent future mischief, he committed Clarendon to the tower; and, not long after, sent Dartmouth to the same place, upon receiving certain information of a letter he had written to James, in which he assured that Prince of his resolution to quit the English service and join him. Dartmouth died soon after in the tower; and then the King ordered the governor to pay to his corpse all the honours of war which were due to an admiral of England†. William treated the Scotch part of the conspirators with equal generosity. Several of the nobility had been seized‡, but orders were given to set them at liberty, if they would give their words of honour, not to disturb the government. Lord Arran, with that undaunted spirit which sprang from the blood of the great families of Douglas and Hamilton united in his person, refused to give his word, "because," he said, "he was sure he could not keep it."

The King's
behaviour.

* Granger's biographia, tit. Graham. Burnet. † Collin's peerage, tit. Dartmouth. ‡ Books of Scottish privy council, May 28. June 25. and passim.

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BOOK VI.1691.
The bishops
deprived.

THE fate of this conspiracy drew after it that of the nonjuring bishops, whose sees were now bestowed upon others. Their fidelity to their religious principles at one time, and to their civil at another, together with their tenderness for a Prince who had shewn none to them, would have entitled them to respect even from an opposite party, had they not sullied all their honours by publications, in which, they reminded the people of what five of them had suffered for opposing popery and arbitrary power, denied, in the most solemn manner, their accession to all conspiracy, and prayed for mercy and forgiveness to those who had fixed the imputations of such things upon them: A mixture of attachment to principle, and of the want of principle, which it would be difficult to account for, was it not that, from an abuse of language, they did not consider that to be conspiracy, which they called duty, nor that to be invasion, which they thought was, by the meditation (as their party called it) of an ally, to transport James into his kingdom, nor that to be conquest, which was to drive an usurper from it: So that, in all probability, they imposed upon themselves, without meaning to deceive others*.

Indifference
of the nation
to their fall.

THE bishops, who knew that their prosecution had ruined one King, and believed that their punishment would draw the same consequence upon another, were astonished to find, that they fell without the people's almost observing it. Their friends, therefore, endeavoured, by employing the press, to rouse the nation to take part in their quarrel. Many on the side of government thought they should shew their zeal for its interests, by answering the pamphlets which were published for the bishops. But the nation saw the paper-war with indifference. The partizans of the old bishops next attacked the characters of the new ones, and of several late converts in the church: And then, indeed, the malignity of men made them read, what their indolence had made them overlook. These polemics, accustomed to write, published a variety of papers, to dissuade the people from submission, by the example of the unsubmitting prelates, and in favour of hereditary right and

* Some of Sancroft's letters at this time to Sir John North are published, and, if attentively considered, will perhaps justify the truth of this observation.

passive obedience. Here government interposed, because its interests were concerned; and employed the famous Mr. Locke to combat these doctrines. For, while the supreme power of other states applies to the fears, that of the English is obliged to apply to the reason of its subjects. The reasonings of such a philosopher, in such a cause, were greedily received by the British nation; and William found, that he had made more converts by the writings of another, than by his own services, in defence of their liberties.

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BEFORE the King returned to Holland to take upon him the command of the army, he had given orders to Ginkell in Ireland, to make an end of the war there at any rate; and, for that purpose, had furnished * his army compleatly with recruits, and every kind of military provision, and sent him an unlimited pardon to all who would ask the benefit of it. James, in the mean time, having been informed of the disorders which had been committed in Ireland during the winter, had sent back Tyrconnel, as chief governor, to put an end to them. Competitions upon this arose betwixt Tyrconnel and Sarsfield †, the one jealous of his ancient power, and the other impatient of new command. In hopes of stopping these, St. Ruth, a French general, and good officer, was sent in the spring to command the army: A man who, it was thought, would be agreeable to the Irish; because he had signalized himself against the protestants in France. But, although a great part of the Irish army had, from want of money, stores, and provisions, been dispersed ‡, St. Ruth was furnished with none of these necessaries. And the Irish complained equally of the ill-timed parsimony of the French, and of James's want of respect, who, in return for all their services, had put a foreigner at last over the heads of all their countrymen. St. Ruth, conscious of his weakness, resolved on a war of defence, sent garrisons to the strongest towns upon the Irish side of the Shannon, and placed himself with his army behind Athlone.

State of the
armies in
Ireland.

WHEN Ginkell heard of the discontents and difficulties of his

* Story, 2. p. 34. † Gazette, March 19. ‡ Ibid. May 21. and Letters Lord Justices to Lord Nottingham, in the paper-office.

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enemies*, he resolved not to publish the pardon with which he was entrusted, until he should pass the Shannon, lest his making use of it sooner might be imputed to fear, and lest the well affected part of the Irish†, whose minds were inflamed with the passions of their countrymen, might be provoked to disappoint the preparations for a campaign, which they foresaw was to be terminated by the impunity of their enemies. Having animated his own troops, and disheartened the enemies, by several advantages gained in the spring, and by the surrender of Ballimore, which, from want of powder, yielded almost as soon as it was attacked, he advanced, on the 19th of June, to Athlone. But, in his haste, he neglected to establish magazines or places of communication behind him‡.

General
Ginkell
takes the
English part
of Athlone

ATHLONE consisted of two towns, one on the English, and the other on the Irish side of the Shannon, which were joined together by a stone-bridge, and by a ford a little space below the bridge. Both towns were fortified; but that upon the English side, weakly. The second day of the siege, Ginkell, by good fortune, made a large breach in one of the bastions of the town on the English side, and ordered General M^cKay to storm the bastion. It is dangerous for troops under attack to know, that there is a place of safety prepared for them: The Irish fled to the bridge to make their way to the other town, and part of them got into it. But the garrison, which stood on the opposite side, apprehensive that M^cKay might pass the bridge with the fugitives, broke down the arch nearest to their own side; and thus obliged their companions either to ask quarter, which few of them chose to do, or to seek a passage in the Shannon, where most of them were drowned§.

Dispute for
the Irish
part of the
town.

WHEN Ginkell got possession of the town on the English side, he found, that the Irish, expecting it would be taken, had raised many entrenchments and other works in the town to which they had retired, from whence they played over upon the station which they had

* Ibid. Letter, June 17. 1691.
M^cKay's manuscript memoirs.
Gazette, June 29.

† Ibid. May 7. 1691. ‡ General
§ Story. General M^cKay's manuscript.

just quitted; and that the ford between the two towns was breast-high, stony, impassible by above twenty men in a rank, and commanded by a castle adjoining to it, and by the walls of the town next the river. He therefore resolved, in imitation of the enemies, to entrench himself in the town which he possessed, and then to make a bridge of pontons below the ford, destroy their works which commanded the ford, and carry on a wooden work on the stone-bridge for the purpose of throwing great planks of wood across the broken arch, and for covering his men whilst they were working. During nine days, one of the most singular spectacles in history was exhibited; that of two armies waging war upon each other, within the walls of a town, and amidst the ruins they made, where every bullet that was shot brought the imprecations of the inhabitants upon both armies. Ginkell soon found, that his project of a bridge of pontons was vain; because the bank on the opposite side was firm only at one place, and that place was guarded by the enemy. Upon this, he bent his chief attention to gain safety to the passage across the stone-bridge. Upon the ninth day, the planks over the arch of the stone-bridge were finished; breaches lay open in the castle, and in the walls next the ford; one body of men was appointed to force the bridge, and another the ford; handfuls of money were distributed amongst the soldiers of both; the English army was drawn up to support them; St. Ruth poured new troops continually into the town on his side of the river, and placed the rest of his army under the walls next his camp: All men were impatient for the event. But, in this critical moment, a grenade, thrown from the Irish side, set fire to the wooden work upon the bridge, and destroyed all that the English had done. The attack was countermanded; and the troops returned to their quarters, discovering*, by the fullness and dejection of their looks, the passions in their minds. The misfortune appeared to be of the greater consequence, because† provisions were beginning to become scarce in the army, and it was known that Ginkell had not made proper securities behind him for a retreat. Upon the news of these things, a sudden panic seized the Protestants in Ire-

Ginkell's intended attack fails.

* General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs.

† Ibid.

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He calls a
council the
same day.
Opinions a-
bout forcing
the ford.

land. And the citizens of Dublin * barricadoed all the avenues to the city, and prepared to raise works all around it.

IN the mean time, Ginkell saw, that there was now nothing left, but to retire, or to force a passage at the ford alone. In both measures, there was danger: For, on the one hand, the retreat before a pursuing and elated enemy was hazardous; and, upon the other, the ford was difficult and not certainly known, and the chief hopes of success in the passage had been originally placed in the bridges. He called therefore a council of war, the same day that his intended attack was disappointed. The number of generals, of different nations, which commonly raises dissention, proved here the source of emulation. The English General Talmash, the French La Mello-niere, the Danish Tettau, the Dutch Count Nassau, the German the young and brave Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, but, above all, the Duke of Wirtemberg, who was the second in command, and impatient for glory that he might become the first; all thought their own honours, and those of the troops they commanded, interested in pressing an attempt, to which even its danger was an incitement, M'Kay, the Scottish General, alone remonstrated against it, partly from the caution of age, and partly from its positiveness; for he had from the beginning declared, that the passage ought to have been tried at other places of the river, and not in the face of a town and an army. Ginkell, who was afraid of being blamed by the King for avoiding to publish a pardon which might have prevented the present mischief, gave to the remonstrances of the other generals, just that degree of opposition, which he knew would encrease their keenness in argument, and engage their honour and their pride in the success of an attempt in which they had over-ruled the opinion of their General. It was resolved to attempt the passage next day †.

Preparations
for the at-
tack upon
the ford
next day.

WHEN next day arrived, it was found that two accidents had happened during the night, which made it no longer rash in the generals to persevere in the resolutions they had taken. St. Ruth, upon the de-

* General M'Kay's manuscript.

† Ibid.

struction of the English works, and the retreat of their troops, believing they had given up their design as desperate, had sent three of his worst regiments, whom he had never hitherto trusted with the works, to relieve a garrison fatigued with service and anxiety: And, during the whole night, the Irish had provoked the English soldiers *, by calling to them across the river, in derision, "That they had given bad penny-worths for the money which their Generals had bestowed upon them the day before." And these affronts made the soldiers clamorous in the morning for action. In the distribution of service, the command of the passage was M'Kay's right: But Ginkell, unwilling to trust the care of it to one who deemed its success to be impossible, gave the command to Talmash. M'Kay complained to Talmash of his want of respect in taking it. But the English General shewed he deserved the command, by begging M'Kay's permission to attend him as a volunteer. In order to avoid giving any alarm to the enemy, by a stir in the camp or the town, it was resolved to make the attack at the ordinary hour of relieving the guards; because, at that time, there would be a double garrison in the town, without its being attended to. Orders were given for 2000 men to attempt the river; for ladders to be secretly prepared in all parts of the town, which were to be placed against the walls opposite to the enemy, from whence an incessant fire might be made upon them; for the rest of the garrison to be ready to follow their companions; and for the army to march into the town, whenever the detachment should march to the ford †.

THE soldiers entered the river amidst the huzzas of their own body, to drown their fears, and of their friends behind, to animate them with hopes. M'Kay went on foot by the side of his men: Melloniere, Tettau, the Prince of Hesse, followed: Talmash attended every where as a volunteer. The Duke of Wirtembergh, having lost a horse, was carried over on the shoulders of his grenadiers. The fire from the ruins of the Irish castle, and of the walls

The attack.

* General M'Kay's manuscript.

† Ibid.

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1691.

The town
taken.

and St. Ruth
retires to
Agrim,

and prepares
for a battle.

next the river, was directed upon the ford; that from the English batteries, and ladders upon the ruins; and that from the Irish entrenchments upon the English batteries; so that all hurt those who were doing mischief to others, and none received injuries from those whom they annoyed. The detachment advanced, gained the opposite bank, mounted the breaches that had been made in the walls next the river, and divided. One party carried the castle, made way for others who were passing the river, and then followed the ramparts of the town, partly to strike terror into the garrison by getting behind them, and partly to prevent the entrance of succours from the Irish camp: Another turned above the ford to the broken arch of the bridge, to assist their friends who were making a passage of planks upon the opposite side: A third wheeled below the ford, to secure the point of landing, for a bridge of boats which the English were throwing across the river. When the ford and the bridges were laid open, multitudes passed over. The Irish garrison, upon the sight of these things, quitted their entrenchments, leaped over the ramparts, wherever they could find them not possessed by the enemy; and the town was evacuated within an hour after the first man had entered the river. St. Ruth marched his army to give relief, but too late: For, when he approached the walls, his own guns were turned against himself. He no sooner saw this, than his fears increased in proportion to his former ideas of security. Believing that the same impetuosity of courage which had excited the English to storm the town, might impell them to attack his camp, and that confidence and habit of success generally command success, he decamped instantly to Agrim, ten miles off, and arrived there the same night. Ginkell then published the King's declaration of pardon, and multitudes took advantage of it*.

At Agrim, St. Ruth, irritated by his double disgrace, and the taunts and reproaches of the Irish, who felt a momentary satisfaction in his misfortunes, although their own were involved in them, and continually alarmed with reports of those who were taking

* General M'Kay's manuscript. Gazette, July 2.

the benefit of the King's pardon, changed his intention of acting upon the defensive, and determined to set the fate of Ireland upon one decisive battle. For this end, drawing all the garrisons from the neighbouring towns, he gathered an army of 25,000 men around him.

AFTER Ginkell had spent a week in refreshing his troops, and making some repairs upon the works of Athlone, he advanced to the enemy. Upon his approach, he found, that St. Ruth had chosen his station with wisdom: His army lay encamped along a height in a line of two miles. Below, and half a mile from the front of his camp, there was a large bog, through which were two passages, one leading to the right, and the other to the left of his camp, but the rest of it was, to appearance, incapable of being passed. The passage through the bog, to the left of his camp, opened upon the left, into a flat corn field, but in which not more than four battalions could form a front; and further on, towards the camp, it led to broken and difficult grounds, and to the ruins of the castle of Agrim, in which the cannon were placed. The passage through the bog, to the right of his camp, opened upon ground that was wider, and equal in its surface, but not sufficiently wide to afford room for an army. The intermediate space between these two openings was filled with hedges and ditches, along the slope of the hill, and almost to the verge of the bog; and these were lined with troops. The rest of the army was ranged behind the hedges, and upon the heights before the camp. The only thing which St. Ruth wanted, to give him the full advantage of such a situation, was cannon: For he had only nine field-pieces with him*.

Ginkell advances to him. St. Ruth's station.

As the Irish army stood upon a height, most of them perceived the approach of the English army long before it arrived at the bog. St. Ruth spent the intermediate time in making dispositions, and in imitating the ancient generals, by making a formal speech to his officers. The priests in all other places, ran through the ranks of the soldiers; obliging them to swear, upon the sacrament, that they

* Gen. M'Kay. Gazettes.

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BOOK VI.

1691.

Battle of A-
grim.

would not quit their colours, and animating them by the most powerful of all human motives, the interests of eternity*.

GINKELL's army, dividing itself into two bodies, marched to the right and the left, through the two passes of the bog, with an intention to bend towards each other upon the other side, flank the enemies in the intermediate space, and join upon the higher grounds.

ST. RUTH allowed the enemies to pass the bog without interruption, intending to attack the two bodies separately, before they could give succour to each other, being certain, if he defeated them, that their retreat through the bog must be difficult. With this view, as soon as he saw the English left wing drawn into the open ground, he detached almost all his cavalry from his left wing, to give greater strength to his right. M'Kay, who observed the motion, and rejoiced that St. Ruth was to trust the strength of the battle where the ground was fairest for the English, advised Ginkell to draw off part of his right wing to the left, partly to assist it, but more to engage the enemy's attention still more upon that side. Whilst part of the right wing of the English was making this motion, M'Kay caused the bog, through which he had passed with the rest of the wing, to be sounded: Finding it, though difficult, not impassable, he ordered part of the troops under his command, instead of following him, to pass through the bog to the corn field on the left of the opening, and to keep their station there, without advancing upon the enemies in the hedges, until they saw that he had got forward, and was ready to flank them there. General Talmash, at the same time, began to march before him with a considerable body of troops, to make an attempt upon the castle of Agrim, then weakened by a draught which St. Ruth had made from his left wing to his right. But the impetuosity of English valour, and of the Prince of Hesse's youth, caused the troops, which M'Kay had left in the corn field, to forget his orders: They pressed forward upon the enemy, before their general had yet surmounted the difficulties of the

* Story. M'Kay's M. S.

broken ground. The Irish waited for them till they came up, and, the first fire was exchanged through the first line of hedges, so that the ends of the muskets almost touched. The Irish, who had made openings in the hedges, and also communications between these, behind, and to the right and left, retired to draw their enemies on. The English eagerly pursued: But in advancing, they found, that new bodies of horse and foot had taken new posts in new places, while some of their former enemies had re-occupied their former stations; and that volleys of shot were poured upon their front, their flanks, and their rear. Ashamed of the dangers into which they had brought themselves, by neglecting the orders of that general, who had been so careful to save them, they struggled hard to make their ground good; but at last gave way, returned to their station in the corn-field, and many of them even fled back through the bog. M'Kay, hearing of their distress, returned to relieve them, and sent an aid de-camp to intreat Talmash to delay his enterprize, turn to the left, and assist him in flanking the enemies in the hedges. All parts of the right wing then united their efforts; M'Kay's and Talmash's troops, to give safety to their friends, and gain honour to themselves; and the others, to recover the honour they had lost. On the other side of the field, the same obstinacy was maintained: For, in this battle, the English and foreigners fought an end to all their labours, and the Irish thought they played their last stake for their independence and religion. Both parties were the more animated too, because the English saw their ruin in a flight through a bog with which they were not acquainted, and the Irish, because they knew the routs of the bog, hoped to exterminate their enemies, when embarrassed in it. At length M'Kay, upon the right hand, gained ground; Ginkell, on the left, gained it likewise; both ascended the rising grounds, and, in their progress, seemed to draw nearer towards each other. St. Ruth saw the approach, and dreaded it. In order to prevent the junction, he descended with a strong body of troops, from the heights where he had hitherto stood; but, in his descent, was killed by a cannon-ball. Upon this, the foremost troops which he had been conducting halted: The word was given from rank to rank, and from man to man, that the General was killed: His

St Ruth
killed, and
the Irish de-
feated.

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1690.

guards retreated with his body: The troops behind, seeing that all stopped, and some turned back, mistook the motion for a flight, and joined for some time in the retreat with the guards: Nor, when they recovered their confusion, could Sarsfield, who was second in command, give relief to the army: For, as he had been at variance with St Ruth, he was incapable of supporting a disposition which had not been communicated to him: And the three bodies, into which the army was now divided, finding they gave no help to each other, while, on the contrary, the two bodies of Ginkell's army, by making their way to one common point, brought assistance to each other, stopped, looked back, reeled, fled, and even threw all their arms behind them. The English pursued for four miles, but disgraced all the glories of the day, by giving no quarter. 700 fell upon their side, and as many thousands on that of the enemy*. Tyrconnel died soon after, lamenting, with his last breath, the miseries which he had brought upon his country.

The Irish
make their
last stand at
Limerick,
and Ginkell
advances.

THE Irish retired to Limerick, the only place of strength they had left, and resolved to make their last stand there; either to give time for the French, whose return they now prayed for in vain to relieve them, or get good terms for themselves from the English. Ginkell followed with as much haste as he could, intending to increase the terror of victory by the use he was to make of it; and, in his march, took in all the places which lay in his way or around him, as fast as his troops appeared before them. Gallway alone stood a siege of two days, and then its garrison was permitted to go to Limerick, to add to the general confusion and famine of those who were there already.

Description
of Limerick,
and disposition
of the
Irish troops.

LIMERICK consisted of two towns, divided by a branch of the Shannon; one upon the English side of the river, called the Irish town; the other upon an island in the river, called the English town. The two were joined together by a bridge; and the English town was joined to the Irish side of the country by another bridge, called Thomond-bridge, which was defended by works on the Irish

* Gen. M'Kay's MS. Story, 136. Gazette, July 16.

side of the river. Most of the Irish army were in these two towns ; but all the cavalry, in number 1500, and a few regiments of infantry, were upon the Irish side of the Shannon, in order to procure provisions for themselves, and to prevent the English from passing the river, which was only passable by boats.

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1691.

GINKELL sat down before Limerick upon the 25th of August, and made his approach upon the English side, by the same passage which King William had taken, and with the same want of opposition : For the Irish officers were afraid of disheartening their troops with more defeats in the field, and put all their hopes in walls, the branches of the river, and in time. Ginkell spent the first week in providing security for himself, and cutting off the enemy from assistance : For these purposes, he drew a line of contravallation behind his army, ordered the troops from all parts of Ireland to join him, and a small squadron of ships of war, which was then upon the coast, to sail up the river and block up the town, and dispatched different bodies of troops, to take in all the posts round, possessed by the Irish.

Ginkell's
preparation
for the siege.

GINKELL directed his batteries at first upon the Irish town. And all men were in expectation of seeing soon the spectacle, which had been exhibited at Athlone, renewed, of two armies waging war against each other within the same circuit of walls. But this was not Ginkell's intention : He remembered the difficulties he had encountered : And he now attacked the Irish town only, because it stood on the same side of the river with himself, and, by setting it on fire in different places, he hoped to get the inhabitants to betray it, or to oblige the garrison to give it up. But the soldiers drove the inhabitants from the town, and, when the houses were on fire, broke into them for plunder, instead of extinguishing the flames. Ginkell, therefore, removed his batteries to a station opposite to the English town, but upon his own side of the river, from whence he could annoy both towns at once *.

his attacks.

* Story, 2.

Sept. 16.

IN ten days more, both towns were laid almost in ashes, and the works of the English town next to the batteries almost destroyed. But Ginkell, having received intelligence, that, even although he should pass the river on that side, he would meet with wet fosses betwixt it and the town, but that the works which guarded Thomond-bridge were not so strong as he had been made at first to believe, he resolved to pass the river, attack these works, and by commanding Thomond-bridge to block up the enemy from all supplies of provisions. In order to conceal his design, he feigned an intention to raise the siege, as his master had been forced to do two years before; and, to carry on the deception, he dismounted his heavy cannon, and evacuated some of his works. The besieged gave way to their joy by loud and repeated insults and shouts*. Upon the approach of night, he moved a part of his army, as if he had been flying: But, when it grew dark, he turned suddenly to the river, a mile above the town, employed workmen during the night to throw a bridge of pontons across, and began to pass before he was discovered. The enemies cavalry guarded the passage, but their horses were allowed to graze during the night; and, as it was day-break when he passed, the horses had not been taken from grass; so that the cavalry made only a faint opposition.

AFTER this, he spent some days in providing security for his former stations, now weakened by the division of the army, and in forming communications betwixt the two sides of the river; and then made an attack upon the works which commanded Thomond-bridge. He carried them successively in a few hours, and pushed on for the bridge. The Irish fled along it: The English pursued behind: But the officer on guard, who was a Frenchman, apprehensive that both might enter the town together, ordered the draw-bridge to be raised, and, by this means, exposed the garrison of the works, consisting of a thousand men, to the swords of their enemies, and the waves of the Shannon. Almost all perished; and the English made a lodgement within ten yards of the bridge†.

Divisions in
the garrison.

THE action of the French officer irritated the Irish to the highest

* Gazette, July 24.

† Ibid. October 5.

degree: They exclaimed, "That the French, instead of acting the
 "part of allies, were their most merciless enemies!" The French
 officers were alarmed by these complaints: And both parties, jealous
 of each other, concurred in a desire to capitulate. The propo-
 sal was made next day, and the terms soon adjusted: For Ginkell
 * had orders to end the war upon any conditions. It was agreed,
 that all the Irish then in Ireland, in the service of James,
 should be pardoned; that their estates and effects should be resto-
 red, and their attainders and outlawries reversed; that none of
 them should be liable to actions of debt for deeds done by them in
 the course of war; and that all those who inclined to go to France
 should be landed there with their effects at the expence of the Eng-
 lish government. These articles † came from Ginkell himself. No
 less than 14,000 men took advantage of the last of them, quit-
 ting, with a savage fury and joy, their native land, and consent-
 ing to become for ever the subjects of a foreign power. A few days
 after the capitulation, a French fleet of 18 ships of the line, with
 30,000 arms, and with stores of provisions and ammunition, arrived
 upon the coast imbittering, by the sight of assistance, the reflection
 in the minds of those to whom it was brought, that, by their mu-
 tual jealousies and impatience, it was now become useless. Gin-
 kell was honoured with the titles of Lord Agrim and Earl of Ath-
 lone, and Rouvigny with that of Lord Gallway, in commemora-
 tion of their services, and of the places in which they had performed
 them. But the officers and soldiers remarked with displeasure,
 that no notice was taken of Talmash and M'Kay, because they
 were not foreigners. They were the more displeased too, be-
 cause, in the list of the King's generals for the ensuing year, they
 found, that eleven out of sixteen were foreigners ‡. Immediately
 after the capitulation of Limerick, the Irish war was declared at an
 end. And then only, at last, William became master of his three
 kingdoms.

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1691.

The town
surrenders.
Terms of
capitulation.14 000 Irish
transported
to France.

* Letter from the Lords Justices, to Lord Nottingham, May 29, in the paper-
 office. † Gazette, October 8. Story, 2. 231. ‡ Journ. h. of com. Nov.
 28. 1691.

PART II.
BOOK VI.1691.
Differences
in opinion
about the
capitulation.

THE capitulation of Limerick was scarcely signed when it became the universal subject of dispute. The loyal part of the Irish, attentive to particular interest and passion, complained *, “That while they were ruined for their attachment to government, their enemies had been helped to carry off their plunder with impunity, had been pardoned, treated with honour, and even protected against the common course of justice, for the crimes they had committed.” In England, general interests were taken into the view. People reasoned: “The example of all history shewed, that the most desperate enemies were exiles turning their arms against their countrymen, partly to remove all suspicion of their fidelity from those foreigners for whom they combated, and partly, because they were prompted by the two strongest passions in human nature, sense of injuries, and desire of recovering the interests which they had lost. The communication of so many thousand individuals with their friends and relations in Ireland, would for ever continue the connection of that country with France.” But men, who considered the state of Ireland at the time, and as it appeared immediately after, did justice to the necessity to which the King yielded. They remarked: “From the disorders of war †, no grain had been sown in a great part of the lands of Ireland: And, according to the custom of that country, the Irish ‡ had carried all their cattle along with their army, which were long ago destroyed. The number of French privateers at sea, the necessity of pressing for seamen at Bristol, and the rigour of ships of war in search of prohibited goods, || had long prevented the English or Scotch merchants from sending provisions to Ireland. Upon these accounts, had the Irish troops remained in their own country, they must either have perished in silent misery, or have armed themselves with despair against human kind. The French fleet, which had arrived upon the coast, almost whilst the articles of capitulation were signing, would not only have destroyed the English squadron in the Shannon, and relieved Limerick,

* Correspondence of the Lords Justices with Lord Nottingham in the paper-office. † Story 2. 196. et passim. ‡ Ibid. 2 p. 146.

|| Letter 6th February 1691-2 from the Lords Justices to Lord Nottingham in the paper-office, and other letters there.

“but have blown up the civil war of Ireland anew; and the war
“in that country had already cost the lives of 100,000 British
“subjects, the ruin of three times that number, and ten millions
“of money*. Cromwell, whose circumstances were not so diffi-
“cult as the King’s, had not scrupled, in order to get free of his
“enemies, to transport 40,000 Irish from their own country,
“to fill all the armies of Europe with complaints of his cruelty,
“and admiration of their own valour. Perhaps some pity too was
“due to men who had been exposed to forfeiture and death by
“the Irish parliament, unless they took side against King William;
“and by the English parliament, if they did.” Measures which the
King was obliged immediately to take, discovered the judgment
of those who reasoned in this manner. For, from the want of
provisions† in Ireland, he was forced to allow some thousands
of the Irish army to go into the service of the Emperor, to
take multitudes of them into the English troops, to send the
Danes to their own country almost as soon as the Irish had quitted
theirs, and to carry almost all his regiments to England, as fast
as transports could be got for them ‡.

WHILE these decisive events passed in Ireland, the summer was
spent, in the rest of Europe, in actions betwixt the confederates
and French, which were of little consequence: For Louis XIV.
conscious of the superiority of his enemies numbers, and con-
vinced that observance of the rules of union seldom lasts long a-
mong confederates, had resolved, by lying upon the defensive, to let
the cloud pass over him. His army pierced into Piedmont before
the Germans could arrive to defend it: But, when they came,
it retired. The German and French armies were equal upon the
Rhine, and avoided mutual injury from mutual awe. In Flanders

Campaigns
on the con-
tinent inde-
cisive.

* Story 2 p. 313.

† Ibid. and Gazettes.

‡ The miseries of Ireland from want of provisions, and the weak state of the
King’s affairs from the want of every thing, is strongly painted in the correspondence
of Lord Gallway, and of the Lords Justices, with Lord Nottingham, in the paper-
office. Many of the circumstances, related in the account which I have given of
this campaign, are taken from the same correspondence.

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1691.

The parlia-
ment gives
vast sup-
plies.

William forced Marshall Boufflers to raise the bombardment of Liege: And, on the other hand, when he quitted his army at the end of the campaign, the French defeated one part of it on its march to Cambron, but deserted the victory when they saw the other come up to dispute it. They acted the same defensive part at sea; Admiral Ruffel attempting often, but in vain, to bring them to an action. These were all the returns which the English received, for the four millions they had given to bring the war to an end.

BUT William, presuming upon the satisfaction which the reduction of Ireland gave to his English subjects, demanded, in his speech at the opening of the parliament which he assembled at the end of the campaign, a fleet equal to that of last summer, and 65,000 land-forces, for the service of the ensuing year, although he was now disburthened altogether of the Irish war. The sudden and open manner of the demand prevented the concerts of opposition. Answers were given by both houses which implied their acquiescence; and, after some disputes and some delays, the supplies, which amounted to three millions and a half, were granted. The rest of the session was spent in some struggles between the houses, concerning the interests of their respective orders in trials for treason; in the best business of parliament, inquiries into the abuses of employment and service*; and in those attempts to procure popular laws, which, by a peculiar circumstance in the English constitution, pave the way for the favourites of the people to force themselves into the service of the crown, and for others to take their places in promoting the same public services for the same private ends. But most of these attempts were disappointed, as usually happens, in the house of lords, from the fear of popular innovations. One of them was indeed checked by the King himself: A bill passed both houses, to make the salaries and offices of the judges for life. But the King, even at this great æra of liberty, refused his assent, leaving room for a succeeding monarch to give unasked, to the wishes of his people, what William refused to their prayers†.

* Journ. h. of com. and Ralph, anno 1691. † In the beginning of the present reign, his Majesty desired, that the offices of the judges might be made for life, and it was done.

WILLIAM adjourned the parliament in February, in order to go to Holland, in his way to the army: But, before he went, he made more alterations at court in favour of the Tories; and, among others, brought Lord Rochester, and Sir Edward Seymour, into the privy council, two persons who, beyond all others, had opposed his elevation to the throne.

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1691.
The King goes to Holland.

DURING this winter, an incident happened in Scotland, which inflamed almost all that country against the new government. This incident is commonly known by the name of *The massacre of Glenco*. Upon the discovery of the first conspiracy, in the spring of the year 1690, Lord Tarbet, to show his sense of the King's mercy, had suggested a project of prevailing upon the attainted highland clans, to lay down those arms which they had taken up under Lord Dundee, and which they had never since intirely quitted*. And Lord Breadalbane, who had probably concerted the project with him, offered to carry it into execution. Breadalbane's offers had been the more readily accepted by government, because it was known he had more credit with the highlanders than any man in Scotland, and because there were surmises at the time of a French invasion upon that country. But the project took not place, because Sir Thomas Livingstone soon after gained some advantages over the highlanders; and because, hearing that the invasion was to reach no farther than England, they remained quiet in their own country in the summer, in order to save themselves from the incursions of the troops during that season. But winter was no sooner come, than they recommenced their hostilities. Upon this, Lord Breadalbane renewed the offer of his service, and sent a scheme for settling the highlands, to Sir John Dalrymple, secretary of state, who was then attending his master in Flanders. The scheme was, that a pardon, and L. 12,000 should be given to the highlanders in arms, most of which money was to be applied to discharge the claims of the Earl of Argyle † upon their estates; and that pensions should be given to all the highland chief-

Massacre of Glenco during the winter.

Breadalbane's treaties with the highlanders.

* General M'Kay's M. S. correspondence with King William and Lord Portland. M. S. correspondence betwixt Lord Stair and Lord Breadalbane, and relative papers. † Ibid.

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BOOK VI.

1691.

tains in Scotland, under a condition of their holding 4000 of their people disciplined for war, and ready at a call, to serve at home or abroad: A plan of much wisdom, and by which, had it been carried into execution, the rebellions in the years 1715 and 1745 might have been prevented, with the five hundredth part of the expence which it cost the English nation to defeat them. Sir John Dalrymple readily adopted it, and laid it before the King, who sent for Lord Breadalbane to Flanders to adjust the terms. Breadalbane returned into Scotland, and brought the treaty with the attainted highlanders near to a conclusion*: A proclamation was published in the autumn of the year 1691, which declared, that all rebels, who took the oaths to the government before the first of January ensuing, should be pardoned.

Disappointed
by the Duke
of Hamilton.

THE Duke of Hamilton, in the mean time, either from envy against Lord Breadalbane, and Sir John Dalrymple, or because he believed he could make better terms for his master, sent emissaries into the highlands, to prevent the conclusion of the treaty. The highland chieftains played a double game†: They wrote to the late King for his permission to make a treaty, promising to him, that they would observe it no longer than it was for his interest: And, at the same time, to create jealousies in William of his servants, and amongst his servants themselves, they gave information to the Duke of Hamilton, and to the enemies of Lord Breadalbane, Lord Stair, and his son, that Breadalbane had concurred with them in the terms upon which they had asked James's consent to the treaty. Upon this, accusations were presented to the privy-council and the parliament, and sent to the King against Breadalbane. And General M'Kay‡, blown up with the honour which he had acquired in his own profession in Ireland, wrote letters underhand to the King, and Lord Portland, against Lord Breadalbane, and Sir John Dalrymple, most of which were communicated to the last of these persons. William, who was steady to those whom he trust-

* Record of Scottish privy-council, August 8. 26. 27. 1691.
script-correspondence between Lord Breadalbane and Lord Stair.
M'Kay's correspondence, and Lord Stair's, with Lord Breadalbane.

† Manuscript-correspondence between Lord Breadalbane and Lord Stair.
‡ General

ed, received the acufations with difregard, faying, with his ufual brevity, "Men who manage treaties, muft give fair words *."

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BOOK VI.

1691.

Breadalbane's
fcheme of re-
venge.

BUT Breadalbane retained deep in his mind the fenfe of the highlanders breach of faith, and of the injury which they had attempted againft him: He communicated his own paffions to Sir John Dalrymple: And the King, who had been long teased, and ftopped in purfuits which he had more at heart, by the turmoils of Scotland, was himfelf irritated. A new fcheme † was fugged by Lord Breadalbane, adopted by the fecretary, and affented to by the King, for cutting off all the highland rebels, who fhould not take the oaths to the new government, within the time prefcribed by the proclamation. The mode of the execution was intended to be, by what was called in Scotland, "Letters of fire and fword:" An inhuman, but a legal weapon, in the law of that country, againft attainted rebels. The order was fent down to the privy-council, which, without remonftrating againft it, appointed a committee to carry it into execution ‡; and ordered money, a fhip, and other military preparations for that purpofe. Breadalbane, Tarbet, and Argyle ||, had privately agreed to give their affiftance, if neceffary. The King's troops § were properly pofted. The Marquis of Athole, who, by means of General M'Kay **, had, for fome time, been paying court to the new government, had †† an hundred men ready. And there is reafon to believe, that fome of thefe Lords were flattered with the profpect of part of the rebels eftates. It is probable, that fome of the privy-council gave warning to the rebels of their danger. For all the attainted chieftains, with their people ††, took

* One of the accufations againft Lord Breadalbane, was, that he had advifed General Cannon to continue in the mountains, and to increafe his army, before he went down to the low countries. When it was read to the King, he fmiled, and faid, "I am very glad Cannon did not take his advice."

† Manuscript-correfpondence between Lord Stair and Lord Breadalbane. In one of Lord Stair's letters to Lord Breadalbane, he calls it, "Your mauling fcheme." ‡ Record of Scottish privy-council, January 16. 19. 1691-2. || Manuscript-correfpondence between Lord Breadalbane and Lord Stair, and relative papers.

§ Records of Scottish privy-council, 16th January. ** General M'Kay's manuscript correfpondence with Lord Portland. †† Records of Scottish privy-council, 19th January. †† Gazette, January 14.

PART II
BOOK VI
1691.

the oaths before the time prefixed, except one. That one was M'Donald of Glenco.

GLENCO, with all his clan, was peculiarly obnoxious to Lord Breadalbane, because there had been frequent wars betwixt their families. And Sir John Dalrymple thought, that mercy would be thrown away upon them, because they had been in the irreclaimable habit of making incursions into the low countries for plunder, and because he had himself obtained a pardon for them from King William, when one of the tribe having discovered his accomplices in a crime, the rest had tied him to a tree, and every man of the tribe had stabbed him with a durk, Glenco the chieftain giving the first blow.

GLENCO went, upon the last day of December, to Fort-William, and desired the oaths to be tendered to him by the governor of the fortress. But, as that officer was not a civil magistrate, he refused to administer the oaths. Glenco then went to Inverary, the county-town, to take them before the sheriff of the county; but, by bad weather, was prevented from reaching it, until a few days after the term prescribed by the proclamation was elapsed. The sheriff scrupled at first, but was prevailed upon at last to receive his allegiance. Advantage was taken of Glenco's not having complied literally with the terms of the proclamation; and a warrant for proceeding to execution was procured from the King, which was signed both above and below with his own hand.

Execution of
it.

THIS warrant was executed with many circumstances of extreme rigour. Sir John Dalrymple gave orders, that the execution should be effectual, and without any previous warning. For this purpose, in the month of February, two companies went, not as enemies, but as friends, to take quarters in the valley of Glenco, where all the clan lived; a valley famous, in the traditions of highlanders, for the residence of Fingal, and which, by an odd coincidence, signifies, in the Celtic language, "The valley of tears." To conceal the intention the better, the soldiers were of their own lineage, highlanders of Lord Argyle's regiment; and the commanding officer, Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, was uncle to the wife of one

of Glenco's sons. All were received with the rude but kind hospitality of the country. They continued in the valley near a fortnight; and then in the night-time, rose to butcher their hosts. Captain Campbell had supped and played at cards with Glenco's family the evening before. Thirty-eight men were slain. The rest would have shared the same fate, had not the alarm been given by one of Glenco's sons, who over-heard one of the soldiers say to another, "He liked not the work: He feared not to fight the Macdonalds in the field, but had scarcely courage to kill them in their sleep: But their officers were answerable for the deed, not they." This execution made the deeper impression, because the King would not permit any of those who were concerned in it to be punished, conscious that in their cause, his own was involved.

WILLIAM had many enemies in Scotland upon another account. The abolition of prelacy had provoked most of the higher ranks in that country *. And Lord Crawford, a bigotted presbyterian, who for some time after the revolution was president of the council, had, by ejecting the episcopal clergy, with many circumstances of severity †, added fuel to the flame. William made afterwards some advances to the episcopal party. But these, without gaining them, had lost some of the presbyterians. So that Scotland was ripe for any mischief.

Severities against the episcopal clergy.

* The person who persuaded King William to settle presbytery in Scotland was Carstairs. The two arguments he used were 1st, That the presbyterians were in general whigs; and 2dly, That his protecting presbytery in Scotland would, without giving the alarm to the church in England, shew the dissenters of that country what they might expect from him, when he should have it in his power to serve them. The Reverend Mr. M'Cormack, in whose hands Carstairs's papers are, gave me the heads of his discourse to King William, the freedom of which does equal honour to him who spoke and to him who listened to it.

† Burnet, 29. 64. 87.—Gazette, August 8. 1689. General M'Kay's M. S. correspondence, and records of Scottish privy-council.

B O O K V I I .

CAUSES which incited Louis XIV. to a grand Invasion.—*Intrigues of James in the Court of England.*—*French Preparations.*—*James's Declaration.*—*Preparations in England and Holland.*—*Anxieties in England.*—*Admiral Russel's Correspondence with James.*—*William and James's Suspicions of those whom they employ.*—*The Princess disgraced.*—*Bad Fortune of the French Fleet, and good Fortune of the allied Fleets.*—*The Queen's Message to the Fleet.*—*The Fleets meet off La Hogue.*—*Operations of the 1st Day.*—*State of the Fleets during the Night.*—*Operations of the 2d Day.*—*Of the 3d and 4th Days.*—*Of the two last Days.*—*Unhappy Condition of James.*

Causes which
incited Louis
the XIV. to
a grand inva-
sion.

THE year 1692 was signalized by events which are amongst the most important in the annals of England. The reduction of Ireland made the French sensible, too late, of their impolitic parsimony in losing a kingdom, the divisions of which could no longer be of use to them. The reflection, that, instead of annoying others, as usual, they had themselves been obliged, by sea and by land, to lie last summer upon the defensive; the prospect that William, undistracted by Ireland, and supported by the great supplies which parliament had given him, would employ his whole force against France, and even make that invasion upon her*, which in a speech to his parliament the last winter he had insinuated

* Dr. Campbell, 3. 59.

he had in view; the consideration of the intrinsic weight of England in the scale of Europe, and of the dignity which the rank of King bestowed upon the Prince of Orange; all concurred to convince Louis XIV. that he could not venture too much upon the chance of dethroning King William; and determined his resolution, to make one great effort, for an invasion of England in favour of his rival.

MANY circumstances presented themselves, which made his hopes of success in the attempt as fair, as the motives which impelled him to make it were cogent. Dissatisfactions were remarked in all parts of the three kingdoms; and these, among a people, who, under the right of being angry with government when they please, often seem so when they are not, appeared, in the eyes of foreigners, much greater than they were. The officers of the army, who are accustomed to complain of the want of preferment, because their complaints carry an implication of their merits, now imputed every disappointment to foreign influence; and being apt, from their manners, to take the lead in all conversation, and, from their want of occupation, to mingle in all companies, they spread their own discontents every where among others. In the fleet there was no room for the same jealousies, because there was not the same competition; yet many of the officers and seamen remembered with regret a master, who had affected to be called "the sea-man's friend." The loyal part of the Irish had become remiss in their zeal for government, because it had not complied with their passions; and the rest of that people were ready to forget the faith they had plighted, and the interests of their country, amidst their attachment to their party and their religion. The Scotch were in a phrenzy of rage, upon account of what had lately passed in their country. In England, a great part of the whigs was blinded by resentment and envy; and the people in general were disgusted by the continuance of a war unattended with glory, and provoked by taxes which they thought they could not bear, only because they had never born them before. Yet, at this period of multiplied discontent, a singular state of party was ex-

PART II.
BOOK VII.

1692.

Intrigues of
James in the
court of
England.

hibited: Almost all the Tories stood firm to William; and of all others, the Lords Nottingham and Rochester, the most suspected, were the firmest.

BUT James and the French King derived their chief hopes of success, from the intrigues which had been carried on, within the verge of the court of England itself. In the end of the year 1690, James had sent over into England Colonel Bulkley, whose daughter was married to the Duke of Berwick, and Colonel Sackville, who, while a member of parliament, had been punished by the house of commons, for ridiculing the popish plot. Their instructions were to find out with certainty the sentiments of his former servants. Bulkley first sounded Lord Godolphin, but found him shy. He next applied himself to Lord Halifax, who was open and cordial, and who desired him to let Godolphin know his sentiments. Godolphin, upon this, renewed his ancient connections, declared his repentance of those which he had formed with the new government, and, in testimony of it, offered, as soon as the King should return from the congress at the Hague, to quit the public service, in which he had been lately replaced as first Lord of the treasury. Immediately after, he wrote to William, that he was to resign, and shewed Bulkley that Prince's answer, which intreated him not to take a step so prejudicial to their mutual interests. In the mean time, Sackville had the same success with Lord Marlborough. The connections of that Lord with the Duke of Berwick, who was his nephew, and with Lord Tyrconnel, who was married to his wife's sister, together with the tenderness which he had continually expressed for the late King, and for those who suffered in his cause, had kept him always on decent terms with that Prince's adherents. He was the first person who gave them the intelligence of William's intention to go to Ireland, and the chief person to give them timely warnings to provide for their safeties, whenever any warrant of the privy council, of which he was a member, was directed against them. Yet the great service he performed at Cork and Kingsale suspended the expectations which James had entertained from such beginnings. But, upon the arrival of Sackville, Lord Marlborough entered into engage-

ments with him. Upon the 10th of January 1690-1, he wrote a letter to James, in which he begged a line from himself, and another from the Queen, expressing their forgiveness of his offences: And, in the same letter, he assured James, that Lady Marlborough could bring the Princess Anne back to her duty. James gave him what he desired. Upon the 20th of May, of that year, he wrote a second letter to James, in which he asked, that a power might be sent him to give promises of pardon in James's name, alledging, that Lord Caermarthen, Lord Shrewsbury, and others, stood off from distrust of forgiveness. This demand having been also complied with, Shrewsbury was brought to make an offer of his services to James: But Caermarthen acted a cautious part, neither giving nor refusing promises; because, in all probability *, he had resolved to observe a neutrality, in case James, with the assistance of French force, should return into England. Marlborough advised James to urge Godolphin to continue in the service of King William, and to urge Shrewsbury to enter into it a-new, that both might have it in their power the more effectually to serve their old master. A message was once brought, in Marlborough's name, which imported, that he would prevail upon the English troops in Flanders to revolt: But, when he was reminded to keep his promise, he answered, that the message had been misunderstood by the person who carried it. He also raised some expectations of bringing the army to revolt in England; but afterwards owned, that the thing was impossible, unless James was himself to appear: And then he pressed for an invasion of 20,000 men from France, with that Prince at their head; often repeating, that all schemes of replacing him upon the throne, without a great army from France, were visionary. Captain Lloyd was the person who carried these letters and messages. Admiral Russel was about the same time drawn into the cabal, from ideas of getting better terms for the nation from a Prince in exile, than he thought could be expected from one already upon the throne. Rear-Admiral Carter followed his example. And, in the end, the Princess Anne joined the

* This is very probable from some circumstances in the memoirs of Sir John Reresby, who was his particular friend.

1692.

MEMOIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN

same party; instigated by a resentment against the King and Queen, which she mistook for a return of duty to her father.

To adjust the terms which James was to give to the nation, Lord Middleton was the person sent over to England; partly because he was nearly allied to Shrewsbury*, but more because in his office of secretary of state to James, both in England and France, he had been noted for advising his master to lenient measures. Some time was spent in adjusting the terms; because the whigs, and particularly Russel, contended for concession after concession, for the security of the constitution: Louis XIV. was once obliged to interpose, in order to overcome the reluctancies of James, suggesting, that, "if he was once upon his throne, he would find more complaisance from his subjects, than he was at present to expect." At length, all things were settled: And the French King got assurances, that the army would be directed by Marlborough, the fleet by Russel, and a great part of the church by the Princess Anne.

French preparations.

As it was known, that the Dutch and the English fleets never joined until the beginning of summer, it was concerted, that the invasion should be made in the middle of March; and, for this purpose, the French made their preparations early and suddenly. In the beginning of January, they began to equip one fleet at Toulon, and another at Brest, with several ships at Rochefort, and Port-Lewis; and sent dispatches to all the other vessels of war within reach, to repair to the same ports. It was intended, that this whole force, when joined, should amount to 75 ships of the line. Soon after, they recalled all their privateers, and laid an embargo upon all their merchantmen, in order to man this fleet, and hired 300 transports for carrying the army. In the beginning of March, 20,000 men, of which one half were Irish, either formerly or lately transported into France, marched down to the coast of Normandy; and all their officers received orders to repair instantly to their posts. Mons. D'Etrees hastened to take the command of the fleet

* He was married to Shrewsbury's aunt.

at Toulon, and Monf. Tourville of that at Brest; and both squadrons were ordered to join under the last of these officers*. Communications were settled with James's partizans in England: Two regiments of horse were privately prepared in the city; and eight of horse and foot, in the same manner, levied, and appointed, and armed in Lancashire. In Ireland† it was observed, that multitudes of the Roman catholics quitted their habitations, ran from province to province to hold consultations together, and were in continual fluctuation of action and spirits; certain indications, that they were preparing for some great design. In Scotland many new friends to James joined themselves to the old ones; and both waited with impatience to revenge the injuries which they pretended had been done to their country.

WHEN the French preparations were near compleated, James published a declaration, drawn by Lord Chief-Justice Herbert, in which he promised, that all ecclesiastical preferments should be confined to members of the church of England: But, with regard to securities for the liberties of the nation, his words, though fair, were general and indefinite. With a view to entice all men by the hopes of impunity, the declaration contained a general pardon with a very few exceptions. Lord Marlborough was, at his own desire, together with the Duke of Ormond, excepted from the pardon, the more effectually to conceal their secret connections. But the Lords Godolphin, Hallifax, Shrewsbury, and Admiral Russel, took not the same precaution, because they had not the same depth of dissimulation.

James's declaration.

WITH equal grandeur, preparations were made in England and Holland, to oppose the invasion. The first symptom of alarm in England appeared in the beginning of February, when a proclamation, surprising to free-men, was published, which ordered all the seamen of the nation‡, to offer themselves to be enlisted, with threats of punishment if they did not. Immediately after, advice-boats were dispatched to all the scattered squadrons which were

Preparations in England and Holland.

* Gazettes.
14. 1692, in the paper-office.

† Letter of the Lords Justices to Lord Nottingham, May

‡ Gazette, February 4.

within reach, to repair home for the defence of their country; and others were stationed to cruize off the enemy's ports, and mark every motion they made. All the ships at home were equipped or repaired. Five new ones of the largest sizes were built, and with so much dispatch, that one of them of 106 guns went to sea the tenth day after she was launched*. Alarmed with the danger which threatened England, different Dutch squadrons were hastily got ready at Amsterdam, in the Maese, in North Holland, and in Zealand. The command of both navies was committed to Admiral Ruffel†.

IN this way, during all the spring, the three greatest maritime powers of the world exerted every nerve of naval strength; and the rest of Europe stood amazed, and anxious to see the fate of an expedition, which was in all probability to determine in whose hands the dominion of the sea should be afterwards lodged.

James goes
to Norman-
dy, and
Louis to
Flanders.

BUT, notwithstanding all the efforts of the French, the fleets were not got ready in March as they expected; and therefore James did not set out from St Germain's for Normandy, until the 21st of April. A few days after he was gone, Louis left Versailles, to take upon him the command of his army in Flanders; secure, that, if the King of England sent his troops back from thence to defend their own country, he must weaken his army, and, if he did not, that he must leave this kingdom exposed. By a long and unusual course of adverse winds, James was detained four weeks upon the coast of Normandy.

Anxieties in
England.

THE length of this interval added the pains of anxiety to those of fear, which, upon the prospect of a foreign attack, are felt more in England than in other countries; because the English are less exposed to it, and have almost only one resource against it. Men derived terror even from the preparations which were made to remove it: For from the greatness of these, they inferred the greatness of their own danger. In this

* Gazette, April 28.

† Gazettes.

state of the minds of all, several regiments were recalled from Flanders; others, destined for that country, were ordered to stop on their march; the militia was raised all over the kingdom *; many suspected persons were secured, proclamations issued against others, and all papists removed ten miles from London: A camp was marked out between Petersfield and Portsmouth. Orders were given to drive the cattle fifteen miles up the country, upon the sight of a French fleet. Scotland was put into an unusual posture of defence; for the troops were incamped, the whole militia of the southern counties was raised, and the few of the highland chieftains, who were known to be loyal, were invested with powers almost dictatorial over the rest †. That country was suspected the more, because the Duke of Hamilton, irritated by the neglects he had met with from government, had ‡, since the beginning of January, retired from his seat of President of the council; and all the persuasions of the English and Scottish ministers, and of his friend, Mr. Fletcher of Salton, who, though equally neglected, now rung in his ears the dangers of his country, could not bring him back ||. Ireland alone was left to its own fate, because it was impossible to secure it §. And the meeting of parliament which had been appointed for May was postponed.

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DURING this interval, Admiral Russel got time to renew his correspondence with James. He made two proposals to that Prince, desiring him to make his choice. One was, that the invasion should be delayed until winter, and he promised, if that was complied

Admiral
Russel's cor-
respondence
with James.

* Books of privy-council, May 5. † Record of Scottish privy-council, April 30, May 2. 5. 9. 13. ‡ Ibid. || The Duke of Hamilton came next year into the service of the government; and it was chiefly owing to the persuasions of Mr. Fletcher, § From the correspondence of the Lords Justices with Lord Nottingham, in the paper-office, it appears, that a proclamation had been made, on the 4th of February 1692, for the Irish to bring in their arms, with threats that those who did not, should lose the benefit of the capitulation of Limerick; but it was not obeyed: On the 14th of May, the militia was ordered to disarm the country: But the Lords Justices, in their letters, express great fears, lest the militia, under authority of this order, might plunder the country, and create new hostilities.

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with, that he would, in the intermediate space, dismiss several of his captains, and give their commands to officers who were better affected to James. The other was, if the intended invasion should proceed just now, that Russel would give an opportunity to the French fleet to sail for England, by employing his own in a disembarkation of troops upon the coast of France. In testimony of his sincerity in the last of these proposals *, he applied in England for leave to make a descent at St. Maloes. But, in all his correspondence, he entreated James to prevent the two fleets from meeting, and gave warning, that, as he was an officer and an Englishman, it behoved him to fire upon the first French ship that he met, although he saw James upon the quarter-deck. Russel made use of the same interval of time, to complain of that Prince's breach of treaty, in neglecting, in his declaration, to make provision for the security of the freedom of the subject. To please him, another more explicate and more ample was prepared.

William and
James's sus-
picions of
those whom
they employ.

It is a singular circumstance, that, at this period, James distrusted the sincerity of the men, on whose assurances he proceeded, and that William made use of the services of some, of whose insincerity he had intelligence. When James considered the justness of the informations with which Marlborough supplied him, he believed that Lord to be sincerely attached to him: But, when he reflected upon the breach of his promises, with regard to the revolt of the army, he suspected, that he meant a second time to betray him. He sometimes believed, that Russel's views were not so much directed to serve him, as from republican principles, to degrade monarchy in his person: And, at other times, he suspected, that Russel played a double game; if he missed the French fleet to plead merit with him, and if he met it, to secure the same advantage with his rival. His suspicions were increased by the conduct of the whigs; because, although their leaders were permitted to give him assurances, from a great body of their friends, yet they were not left at liberty to give him a list of their

* Burchet.

names. Upon William's return from Holland, after the battle of La Hogue, he reproached * Lord Godolphin with the correspondence he carried on. Godolphin denied it: But the King put a letter into his hand, written by Godolphin to James, which had been stolen from that Prince's cabinet, and desired him to reflect upon the treachery of those he was trusting, and the mercy that was shown him: A generosity of proceeding which attached Godolphin for ever after to his master. William asked Lord Shrewsbury about the same time, "Why he had quitted his service?" Shrewsbury answered, "Because his measures had not corresponded with his promises to the nation." The King looking steadfastly upon him, said, "My Lord, have you no other reason? The other answered, "He had not." William then asked, "When he had last seen Sir James Montgomery?" Shrewsbury faltered, but recovering himself, said, "He could not help seeing people who called at his door, but that his principles were loyal." "I know you to be a man of honour", replied the King, "I will believe what you say: But remember what you have said, and that I trust to it:" And, without waiting for an answer, quitted the room. It is likewise reported, that at an after-period, when it was of consequence to King William, to make the world believe he was not deserted entirely by the whig-party, he sent a colonel of the guards to let Shrewsbury know, that he had orders either to conduct him to the tower, on account of his connections with James, or to leave with him the secretary's seals †. Lord Marlborough was, indeed, first dismissed from his employments, and afterwards sent to the tower, while the present invasion was depending; but these precautions were necessary, because there was no medium between putting it out of his power to do mischief, and trusting the fate of the kingdom in his hands ‡. It is reported,

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1632.

* I take this anecdote from report; but, it is a report so universal, that I imagine nobody disbelieves it. † I found this anecdote in memoirs which the late Lord Balcarras shewed me, written by himself. He had it from Lord Bolingbroke, and the Field-Marshal Earl of Stair, whose Lady was aunt to Lord Balcarras.

‡ Sir John Fenwick, one of James's Generals, whose confessions to King William were all true, used these words in his last speech: "I do call almighty God to witness, that I received the knowledge of what is contained in these papers, that I gave

that, before his imprisonment, his Lady had discovered to her sister Lady Tyrconnel, a design for an attack upon Dunkirk, which had been communicated by the King, only to Lord Marlborough, and to two others; and that the King, when he reproached him, said*: "You have put more confidence in your wife, than I did in mine." Yet, at an after period, he restored Lord Marlborough to his rank, and employed him in great services, partly from that indulgence for recent prejudices, to which he yielded more than most of his subjects, and partly because he found his business done better by that Lord, than by any other person. There is great reason to believe, that Rear-Admiral Carter† received, at this time, orders from the Queen, to cultivate his connections with James, in order to discover the designs of that Prince, and to enable others to disappoint them. Perhaps some may think, and I have heard it said, that Lord Godolphin, Lord Marlborough, and Russel, had the same permission. What their views were, is only known to that God, who is the great searcher of hearts; but I have related their actions, according to evidence I have seen, which I cannot distrust.

"to a great man that came to me in the tower, both from letters and messages that came from France; and he told me, when I read them to him, that the Prince of Orange had been acquainted of most of these things before."

King William probably knew of the intrigues of Bulkley, Lloyd, and Lord Middleton. For, in the books of the privy-council, May 3. 1692, there is a warrant to seize them. In the same books, 23d June of that year, the names of Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Marlborough, are struck out of the council-book. And the warrant for seizing Marlborough in the books, May 3. of that year, bears, "That he was charged with high-treason, and for abetting and adhering to their Majesties enemies."

The Dutches of Marlborough, in the account of her conduct published by her, imputes the imprisonment of her Lord partly to the friendship of the Princess Anne for herself, and partly to the false accusation of Young. But the first of these circumstances could not be the foundation of a warrant of commitment for high treason against her Lord. And, with regard to the other, Lord Marlborough was detained in the tower, after Young's imposture was detected, and until the French invasion was defeated. It is difficult to reconcile the Dutches's sincerity with her denial of Lord Marlborough's intrigues with James, unless we can suppose, (a thing not impossible), that he did not trust her with them.

* The other side of the question.

† Ralph and the authorities he quotes.

BUT it was much more difficult to resolve upon the conduct which it was prudent for the King and Queen to observe, with regard to the Princess. For, to use rigours against the presumptive heir to the crown upon suspicion, and upon suspicion of corresponding with her father, would have raised equally the indignation and the pity of the nation. And, on the other hand, to leave her in possession of all the weight of her condition to be employed against themselves, appeared imprudent. In this state of difficulty, measures, as usually happens in all difficult cases, were followed, which were prompted from time to time by temper, not determined by previous reflection. From one of the Princess's letters to Lady Marlborough, it appears *, that the night before Lord Marlborough was dismissed, the Queen threatened the Princess with the loss of her revenue. Afterwards, upon her bringing Lady Marlborough to court, during the disgrace of Lord Marlborough, the Queen insisted, that the Princess should dismiss her from her service, partly to mortify, but more to reclaim her sister: And, upon her refusal, sent orders to Lady Marlborough to quit the cockpit, which obliged the Princess, from pride and resentment, to quit it likewise. Her guards were then taken from her, and the ladies at court forbidden to wait upon her: When she retired to Bath, the Mayor was reprimanded for paying her the accustomed public honours, and ordered to discontinue them for the future: And many other little indignities were put upon her, to mark to all the loss of her consequence.

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1692.
Disgrace of
the Princess
Anne.

LOUIS the XIV. in the mean time intoxicated by seeing the divisions of his enemies transferred from Ireland into the court, the service, and the royal family of England, gave orders for Tourville to sail, and fight the English fleet, in order to clear the way for the transports which were to follow him. But all accidents, and all circumstances proved fatal to France, and to James. Rear Admiral Carter, with one squadron, had hovered for some weeks between the Guernsey islands, and the opposite coast of France; and Sir Ralph Delavalle, with another, had ranged along the French coast from thence to Calais; but

Bad fortune
of the French
fleet, and
good fortune
of the allied
fleet.

* Dutcheſs of Marlborough, p. 8.

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Ruffel, with the great body of the fleet, was still in the river; and the Dutch had not yet quitted their own harbours. Tourville more than once attempted to sail from Brest, to fight the two first of these fleets, but was driven back. The same adverse winds kept D'Etrées from joining him with the Toulon squadron of 12 ships. On the contrary, partly from favourable winds, and partly from the prudence and clearness with which their plans had been laid, all the four fleets of the allies had joined and fixed their grand station at St. Helen's, to defend England, at the very time when Tourville received his last orders to fight. Upon this great junction, messengers were dispatched from England, to warn France of her danger. Louis sent orders to stop Tourville. But the orders came too late. Although James had communicated to Tourville his secret intelligence with the English fleet, and directed him to avoid it; yet, from a Monarch's shame, he concealed, that his own subject and partizan, had threatened to fire upon the fleet of his allies, although it waisted himself to his kingdom. Tourville's honour too had been irritated by Seignelai. For, upon his return to France, after the battle of Beachy-head, Seignelai, who was peevish with the disappointment of his favourite project, had reproached him, for not burning the English shipping in their harbours; and when Tourville marked his sense of the reproach as a reflection upon his courage, Seignelai replied with an apology which doubled the injury, that there were men, "*qui etoient pol-trons de teste, quoiqu'ils ne l'etoient point du coeur.*" Hence Tourville, prompted by the glory of giving a king to England, of gaining honour to France without danger, and, by the opportunity of wiping off all imputations from himself, had sailed the moment he got his orders to fight, rejoicing in them, and apprehensive lest they might be recalled.

The Queen's
message to
the fleet.

AFTER the English and Dutch fleets, consisting of 99 ships of the line, and carrying above 7000 guns, and above 40,000 men, the greatest navy that ever covered the ocean, had taken their station at St. Helen's, the anxieties of the nation redoubled; because, in the fate of that fleet, it was plain to all, that the fate of the nation was involved. As few secrets can be kept which are intrusted to many,

it had been already whispered abroad, that several officers of the English fleet were disaffected; and now the clamours of the public became loud, that the suspected officers should be changed. In this state of uncertainty who ought or ought not to be trusted, the Queen took a resolution to bind a generous class of men by a generous trust. She ordered Lord Nottingham to write to Ruffel: "That she had declared, she would change none of her officers, and that she imputed the reports which had been raised against them, to the contrivance of her enemies, and theirs." The Admirals and Captains sent back an address, in which they vowed, "That they were ready to die in her cause and their country's." Yet Ruffel signed not this address, either from accident, or because he was conscious of betraying either his late master, or his present one. The Queen answered the address in these words*: "I had always this opinion of the commanders: But I am glad this is come to satisfy others." The Queen took another prudent step: Instead of prohibiting James's declaration to be read, she ordered it to be published, with an answer to it, which was drawn by Lloyd, one of the seven bishops who had been sent to the tower; thus manifesting, that she submitted her title to the reason of her subjects, instead of betraying a fear, that it could not stand examination.

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1692.

THE officers had scarcely signed their address, when they insisted to sail for the coast of France, some prompted by loyalty, and others, by a desire to remove suspicion. And, at a council of war, it was resolved to stretch over to Cape la Hogue.

Council of
war.

ON the 18th of May, the combined fleets sailed. The French fleet, of about 50 ships of the line, was at that time at sea in quest of the English, and was descried next day, at three o'clock in the morning, about seven leagues from Barfleur. As the French were many leagues to the windward, they might easily have avoided an engagement; and all the flag-officers advised Tourville to retire: But he rushed on. Ruffel's motions filled him for some time

The fleets
meet.

* Gazette, May. 16.

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with hopes : For Ruffel's fleet was not in order, until eight o'clock ; he lay by with his fore top-sail to the mast, until twelve o'clock ; and allowed the enemy to come within half musket-shot of him, before he flung out the bloody flag. During this interval, the bold advance of Tourville with so unequal a force, together with the tardiness of Ruffel *, raised doubt and anxieties in many of the English captains. They looked around, to see when their own officers were to rise up against them, or when the ships next to theirs were to quit the line, and sail over to their enemies.

The action
of the first
day.

TOURVILLE, who was in the Royal Sun, carrying 110 guns, the finest ship in Europe, passed all the Dutch and English ships which he found in his way, singled out Ruffel, and bore down upon him. But, by the reception which he got, he was soon convinced of his mistake, in thinking, that an English admiral could, in consideration of any interest upon earth, strike to a French one. Yet, though conscious of the inferiority of his fleet, he was ashamed to abandon a situation, which his officers had in vain advised him to avoid. And the rest of the admirals, and the captains, ashamed to abandon their head, joined in the action as fast as they came up, and maintained it, not so much hoping to gain honour, as striving to lose as little as they could. The engagement between the two Admirals ships lasted an hour and a half, and then Tourville was towed off, being obliged to retire by the damage which he had sustained in his rigging : But five French ships instantly closed in, and saved him. The battle, in the mean time, went on in different parts, with uncertain success, from the vast number of the ships engaged, which sometimes gave aid to the distressed, and, at other times, snatched victory from those who thought they were sure of it. Alemond, the Dutch admiral, who was in the van, and had received orders to get round the French fleet, in order that no part of it might escape, attempted in vain to obey : And a thick fog, at four o'clock in the afternoon, separated the combatants from the view of each other. In about two hours, the fog cleared up. It was then observed, that Tourville, instead of repairing his rigging, had withdrawn to the rear, and that the French line was broke in many o-

* Burchet.

ther places. Russel, certain that Tourville would not have retired, unless it had been resolved that his fleet was to fly, made a signal to chace from all quarters, without any regard to order. In one of the engagements during this chace, Rear-Admiral Carter was killed, giving orders, with his last breath, to the officer next in command, to fight the ship as long as she could swim: A proof either that his correspondence with James had been maintained with a view to deceive him, or that the last passion in an Englishman's breast is the love of his country. The running engagement of the afternoon was, like the regular one of the forenoon, interrupted by a fog, and afterwards by a calm, and in the end it was closed by darkness.

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DURING the night, the two fleets off the shallow coast of France anchored close to each other; yet the impetuosity of some English officers carried their ships through the French fleet, and Sir Cloudsley Shovel, with his division, had got between Tourville's squadron and the rest of the French fleet: So that the ships of the three nations lay intermingled with each other during the night, waiting for the morning with impatience, uncertain whether they were amongst friends or foes, and judging of their distances from other ships, only by the signals of distress which they heard, or the flames of the ships which were on fire.

State of the
fleets during
the night.

THE arrival of the morning brought a renewal of the chace. But the French fleet was now reduced to 34 ships; four which had taken fire in the engagement, being blown up during the night, and the rest having escaped. This day was signalized by no engagement, but by a spectacle far more important, that of the English fleet driving the French one, along their own coasts, and in the sight of innumerable crouds of their countrymen upon the shores. The French in their flight, were met by a fresh squadron of 16 ships, which were coming to join them*: But these ships, perceiving the fate of their friends, turned to flight, and shared in that disgrace which they could not avert. Fogs, calms, tides, and the veering of winds, saved France from the vengeance of England and Holland for one day.

Chace along
the coast of
France on
the 2d day.

* Gazette, 23d May.

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Operations
of the 3d
and 4th day

UPON the third day, Tourville's ship, the Royal Sun, with his two seconds, one of 90, and the other of 84 guns, together with some frigates, took refuge upon the coast, near Cherburg, and 18 more of the largest ships followed their example, near la Hogue: The rest being more fortunate drove through the race of Alderney. Ruffel ordered the main body of the fleet under Sir John Ashby to pursue that of the enemy; left Sir Ralph Delavalle with one squadron to destroy the ships at Cherburg; and stationed himself with another to confine those which were at la Hogue. As the art of sailing was not so much improved then, as it has been since, Ashby durst not pursue enemies who pointed him the way through a passage, which * another admiral, with a squadron and a great fleet of transports, went through in our day, with ease, and without the flying sails of an enemy to direct him. But Delavalle, next day, burnt the three ships, together with the frigates, at Cherburg, not without some pain, even to those who destroyed them, when they considered what magnificent fabrics they were reducing to ashes.

—of the
two last
days.

AND now, upon the fifth day, some of Delavalle's ships having advanced, and some of Ashby's having returned to join Ruffel's squadron, Ruffel made preparations to destroy the enemy's ships at la Hogue, which were now reduced to thirteen, five of them having the day before, in the hurry and confusion, made their escape. The French had employed all the interval of time, which Ruffel had left them since their ships had taken refuge, in making provisions to defend them. The ships themselves were drawn up as far upon the shallows, as tides and cables could bring them: They were covered with the forts De Liffet and De la Hogue: Plat-forms were raised on shore, and planted with all the artillery of the army: Numbers of chaloups filled with officers and men lined the shoals: Behind stood all the French army ready drawn up: And, upon a height between the ships and the army, King James, the Duke of Berwick, Marischal Bellefonde, Tourville, and other great land and sea officers placed themselves to behold the action, and to give their orders. All precautions were taken, except one which James had suggested, and which was the best: For,

* Lord Howe.

when he saw the French seamen disheartened by defeat, flight, pursuit, and the necessity of taking refuge, he foretold, that no good could be expected from them; and advised, but in vain, that a number of the regiments, and of the artillery-men, should be put on board the ships, where they could fight with the same steadiness, as if they had been in land-castles, because the ships were aground.

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BOOK VII.
1692.

RUSSEL gave the charge of the attack to Vice Admiral Rooke: Rooke advanced with several men of war, frigates and fire-ships, together with all the boats of the fleet. But he soon found, that the men of war could not get within reach; that the frigates could only advance so far as to cover the attack; and that the whole service depended upon the boats. In this situation, he gave only a general order for the boats to advance, surround the enemy's ships, and board or burn where they best could; leaving all the rest to the spirit of the seamen. The seamen strove with each other, whose barge should be foremost, and singled out the particular ships they were to attack, according to their fancy, and sometimes as a merry mood, directed them. They made use of their oars alone as they advanced, without firing upon the platforms, the chaloups, or the vessels aground: So soon as they got to the sides of the ships, throwing away their musquets, they gave three huzzas, and scrambling up the heights above them, with their cutlasses in their hands, and many without any arms at all. Some cut the rigging; others set fire to the vessel; others pointed the guns of the ships against their own chaloups, platforms, and forts. Few assaulted the mariners within, because they accounted the ships to be their only foes. From this circumstance, the French mariners often went off undisturbed in their boats, from one side of a French ship, while the English had entered, and were destroying it upon the other. But at last, tired with doing mischief in detail, the assailants all joined together to burn the enemies ships; and having set fire to them, descended, with the same huzzas with which they had boarded. In this way, they burnt six the first day. The rest, together with a great number of transports, and ammunition ships, shared the same fate

Unhappy
condition of
James.

the next morning; the enemies making little resistance, because they saw it was fruitless. Few prisoners were taken: For the officers were possessed with the idea of the seamen, that the destruction of the ships was their only object; and some of them even made apologies to government * for having incumbered themselves with prisoners †.

DURING this action, a generous exclamation burst from James: For, when he first saw the seamen in swarms scrambling up the high sides of the French ships from their boats, he cried out, "Ah! none, but my brave English could do so brave an action!" Words which were immediately carried through the French camp, creating offence and respect at the same time. After both the French and English had abandoned the vessels which were on fire, some of their guns, which had not been discharged, went off, whilst the vessels were burning to the water's edge, and a few of the balls passed near James's person, and killed some of those who were around him. He then said, "Heaven fought against him;" and retired to his tent. His calamity was increased by a letter which he received, the same day, from the Princess Anne, full of tenderness and contrition. She assured him, that she would fly to him so soon as he landed; and concluded with saying, "She could ask for his forgiveness, because, being his daughter, she could hope for it: But how could she ask him to present her duty to the "Queen?" The letter was dated so far back as the 10th of December: But Lloyd, who brought it, had been prevented by accidents from delivering it sooner. The original severity of James's mind, had been softened into tenderness by his misfortunes. Sir Charles Littleton, having, some time before, said to him, He was ashamed that his son was with the Prince of Orange, James interrupted him with these words, "Alas! Sir Charles, why ashamed! Are not "my daughters with him ‡?" Russel ordered solemn prayers and

* Sir Ralph Delavalle's letter in Gazette May 23.
bell. Gazettes. And papers in the paper-office.

† Burchet. Dr. Camp-

bell. Gazettes. And papers in the paper-office. ‡ This anecdote I had from Lord Littleton. His Lordship told me another anecdote of his ancestor: Sir Charles was one of King James's Brigadiers-General: After the revolution, King William offered him a regiment, and to send him Major General to Flanders, making him at the same time some compliments upon the sentiments which he had

a thanksgiving through all his fleet for the victory*. In England, a present of thirty thousand pounds was given by the Queen to the seamen, and public funerals were bestowed upon those officers whose bodies were brought on shore. But, in France, James slowly and sadly returned to bury the remembrance of his greatness in the convent of La-Trappe. All his attempts, and those of his family afterwards, to recover the throne of their ancestors, were either disappointed by the insincerity of French friendship, or were the mere efforts of despair.

PART II.
BOOK VII.
1692.

WHOEVER perceives not, in the events of the period to which these memoirs relate, the hand of an Almighty Providence, which, upon the ruins of an illustrious but misguided family, raised up a mighty nation, to show mankind the sublime heights to which liberty may conduct them, must be blind indeed! May that Providence, which conferred liberty upon our ancestors at the revolution, grant that their posterity may never either lose the love of it upon the one hand, or abuse the enjoyment of it upon the other.

often expressed against the growth of the French power. Sir Charles declined accepting. The King asked his reason, "Because," said Sir Charles, "I received great obligations from my old master: I hear he will be in the French camp; and, if he should be there, I cannot answer for myself, that I should not desert to him." The King answered, "You are a man of honour, I will not desire you to act against your principle: Disturb not the government, and we shall be very good friends."

* Gazette, May 26.

MEMOIRS OF GREAT BRITAIN